THERIOMORPHIC FORMS: ANALYZING TERRESTRIAL ANIMAL-HUMAN HYBRIDS IN ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE AND RELIGION

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DEDICATION

For my Mother

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ARA	*Annual Review of Archaeology*
Arch.Eph	*Archaiologike Ephemeris*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*
BMC	*Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*
BSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens*
CIA	*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*
CMS	*Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel*
FGrHist	*Fragmente der riechischen Historiker*
GDI	*Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IJNA	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
RDAC	*Report of the Directorate of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores terrestrial theriomorphism (the ascription of animal characteristics to human figures) in ancient Greek culture and religion diachronically using literary and archaeological evidence, while focusing on the latter to supplement previous scholarship (Aston 2011). I analyze 13 consistently terrestrial theriomorphic beings (including eight deities) and iconography from the Greek historical period (Chapter 2). The unique scope of the thesis allows for a comprehensive examination, considering these hybrids' possible origins in time and place, development through cultural interactions, geographical concentrations, iconographical representations, and overall significance (Chapter 3).

The research and conclusions in this thesis offer new insights and developments towards furthering our understanding of the relationship between humans and animals in ancient Greece. Appendix A is a chart of cult sites to theriomorphic deities (which is complemented by a series of maps). It is the first of its kind to be published and reveals concentrations in both rural and urban locations across the Greek Mediterranean, but especially in Arcadia. In addition, I provide an analysis of (terrestrial) theriomorphism in the Bronze Age for the first time ever, showing that there are connections to later Greek culture and religion. This thesis sheds light on the extent to which animals were an essential aspect of Greek life as a means to express their relationship to man, nature, the landscape, and identity, especially in religious contexts. Numerous conclusions are made that challenge and supplement previous scholarships and generalized conceptions, such as theriomorphism being "primitive" and that the centaur existed in Greece continually though the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The expression of humankind's relationship with animals has been constant and widespread across time and place. Today, more than ever it seems, people strive to connect to animals. Many discuss having a "spirit animal," in which a person identifies an animal that closely resembles their own personality, and they treat pets as part of the family. Animal studies, as a discipline, has become popular in recent years, including in analyses of the ancient Mediterranean. Scholars have explored attitudes towards animals, sacred animals, petkeeping, utility animals, and hybridity in antiquity. Theriomorphism (the ascription of animal characteristics to human figures) is a topic that has regained new interest, particularly in the last decade. The goal of this thesis is to not only analyze ancient *Greek* theriomorphism, but also encourage continued research in animal studies in general and demonstrate the value it has towards better understanding the ancient world.

1.1 Review of Scholarship

Theriomorphic beings appear in ancient contexts as a mix of terrestrial, aerial, or aquatic animals. Previous scholarship on this subject tended to focus on anachronistic and controversial language and worldviews, such as the idea that theriomorphism derives from "primitive religions." This philosophy was debated for several decades, causing theriomorphism to become a taboo topic. Modern scholarship has reanalyzed and challenged these preconceived notions of previous scholars to demonstrate the value in analyzing hybridity in detail.

1.1.a Previous Scholarship

Much of the older, "outdated" scholarship and ideas, come from the writings of E. Tylor (1871), E. Durkheim (1912), A. Lang (1968) and J.G. Frazer (1922). Frazer adhered to the view that myth and ritual are one and the same and that they create a universal explanation for Greek religion.[1] Lang, following Tylor and Durkheim, posited that theriomorphic gods were leftovers from an early "primitive religion," like totemism,[2] that were replaced by a more advanced and civilized religion of anthropomorphic deities.[3] Frazer explored the idea of animism, in which "spirits" could regenerate into different guises. He posited that animals are first sacrificed *as* the god, then *to* the god, following the shift towards an anthropomorphic form.[4] This hypothesis also corresponds to the idea of a "collective unconscious," proposed by Dr. Carl Jung, in which there are generalized architypes of gods that expand across all cultures. In sum, there are four theories of evolutionary displacement as civilizations become more "civilized:"

1) Animal deities vanishing through cessation of worship
2) Deities losing divine status and entering the canon of monsters
3) Transfer: undesirable animal features are moved from deity to mythologically adjacent human figure
4) Anthropomorphization: an increase in theriomorphic deities taking on a more human form until most or all of animal elements are gone.

[1] Frazer 1922, 466-74.
[2] Totemism is the belief in a particular animal or plant having supernatural power.
[3] Lang 1968, 118. Tylor (1871) introduced the concept of "animism" (the belief that all natural phenomena are enchanted and expressive of the sprits that inhabit them), which he used to describe the beliefs and practices of the tribal people he studied. This concept was expounded upon by Durkheim (1912), who considered religion as a linear evolution. These authors continued to influence later 20th century authors and sociologists.
[4] Frazer 1922, 475-97; Rupp 2007, 17-19. Frazer posits that the gods were first worshiped as an incarnation of the animal that was sacrificed to it, such as Pan being worshiped as a goat. This hypothesis is refuted, for example, by Asklepios whose sacred animal, the snake, is not sacrificed to him. Frazer also suggests that an animal who injures a deity in myth was once a representation of it.

These scholars argue that animal elements are lost or lessened over time in favor of an anthropomorphic form.

1.1.b Modern Scholarship

More recent scholars have offered new and important ways of looking at theriomorphism in the ancient Mediterranean. Rupp (2007) discusses theriomorphic deities in Etruscan and Roman religions for his dissertation. As for Greece, Aston's (2011) monograph, entitled *Mixanthrôpoi: Animal-human hybrid deities in Greek religion*, is revolutionary.[5] As the title suggests, she analyses theriomorphism (which she relabels mixanthromorphism) primarily in religious contexts during the Greek historical period, noting trends, possible cultural influences in the creation of these deities, and their overall significance. Additionally, she discusses representations of metamorphosis from myth in art. Although she includes many cult centers of worship, she does not provide a straightforward, systematic layout of the information as a catalogue or explore Bronze Age influence on Greek religion. Most recently, Kindt (2019) analyzes the relationship between theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms, especially of metamorphists, with a focus in ancient literature.

Rupp, Aston, and Kindt challenge previous scholarship in important ways. Aston (2011) rejects many theories put forth by these previous scholars, including the four theories of evolutionary displacement, because they are so difficult to prove. As for the first theory, she notes that the idea of trying to reclaim a previous theriomorphic or animal god in early Aegean religion at all or through evolutionary displacement and

[5] See also Aston 2008 and 2014.

transfer are flawed and anachronistic.[6] There is no evidence that monsters or metamorphized mythological characters were once gods and the suggestion reveals a *modus operandi* of early scholars to uncover a lost animal god.[7] In addition, the idea that the epithets for some gods represents a syncretism with an older attribute is difficult to prove.[8] Both Rupp and Aston conclude that ancient people's views are difficult to prove and vary depending on secular or profane iconography.

Some previous scholarship is supported today. Rupp, following Lévi-Strauss (1962), suggests myths mitigate contradictions. Thus, myths about theriomorphic beings show a dualistic system symbolized by human and animal forms that is mitigated visually.[9] This dualistic nature continues into the artistic and archaeological spheres, as shown in this thesis. Discussion of theriomorphism reveals that this phenomenon was a continuous practice across the Mediterranean, even into the Roman periods, that does not stem from a "primitive religion."

Other modern sources have focused on specific animals and theriomorphic beings. Bevan's two volume corpus entitled *Representations of animals in sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian deities* (1985) details the frequency and array of sacred animals in Greek religion. The exhibition catalogue, *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* edited by J.M. Padgett (2003), provides a detailed iconographical analysis of satyrs, centaurs, sirens, and sphinxes and only two deities, Pan

[6] Aston 2011, 194-5. Yet, Aston does note that hybrids could be used to symbolize that a deity is associated with transformation (e.g., Dionysos).
[7] Aston (2011, 194-5, n. 3) discredits the notion that Kallisto and Artemis at Brauron were once displaced bear-goddesses.
[8] There are exceptions, such as Zeus Ammon.
[9] Rupp 2007, 21; Lévi-Strauss 1962, 89.

and Acheloos. Pan, on account of his Panhellenic status, has been the subject of study for numerous authors. Noteworthy is Borgeaud (1985) who explores Pan's cult, especially in Attica, and more recently, Cardete (2016 and 2018), who discusses Pan sanctuaries in Arcadia and Attica. Jost (especially, 1985 and 2018) has made significant contributions on the history and archaeological evidence of Arcadia, which includes important references to theriomorphic iconography in the region. In addition, the *RE, LIMC,* and Farnell (1896-1909) provide invaluable evidence for cultic worship.

Modern scholarship has contributed an enormous amount to this field. My research for this thesis utilizes these works, especially Aston (2011), but also offers new contributions to the field. In the next section I detail the scope, organization, and categorizations of this thesis.

1.2 Methodology and Approach

1.2.a Scope

The idea for this thesis stemmed from my interest in the god Pan and his worship.[10] Thus, I limit my analysis to terrestrial theriomorphism in Greek[11] culture and religion, meaning I include beings that are both religious and non-religious in nature. Where relevant, I focus on religious hybrids, because there is more evidence for them. I do examine some evidence outside Greece, in some cases, either as comparanda, as artifacts from a Greek colony, or to explore cross-cultural influences.[12] This limitation

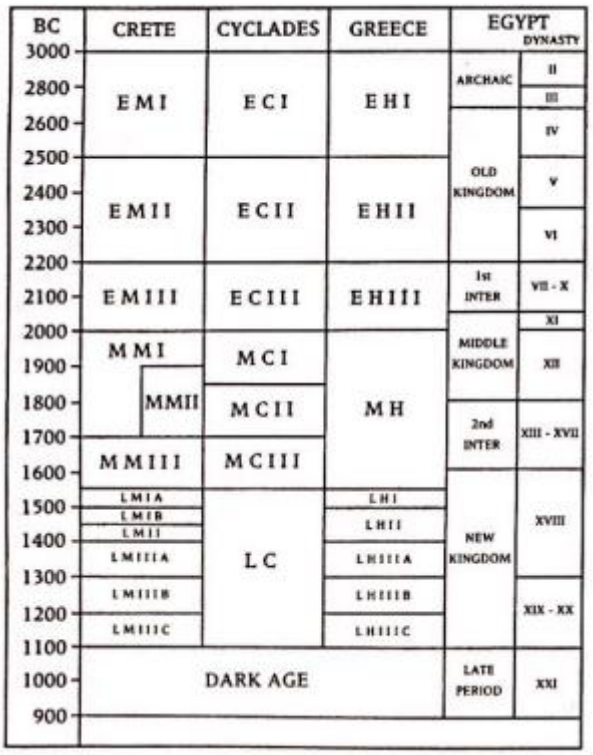
[10] For this reason, I provide more detailed reconstructions of Pan's worship, as well as the fact that his cult does have the most extant evidence.
[11] I use the term "Greek" to denote the culture that occupied the geographical location of modern Greece and ancient Greek colonies in the Pontus region, Ionia, Sicily, and Italy beginning in the 8th century BCE.
[12] Theriomorphism was popular, in general, in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. It is especially notable among the Etruscans, Romans, Phoenicians and their colonies (esp. in Tunisia), Mesopotamians, Egyptians, and Cypriots. Greece was part of this network of religious and cultural influences. An overview of theriomorphism in Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East is explored in Chapter 3.

and approach are unique in the field of hybridity and make several contributions. I provide an in-depth analysis of a certain type of Greek theriomorphic being yet I am also comprehensive. Secondly, a catalog of cult sites (Appendix A) has, to my knowledge, never been systematically published before, even for Pan. This catalog is accompanied by maps that demonstrate these concentrations. Finally, I provide an interdisciplinary overview of (terrestrial) theriomorphism in the Bronze Age for the first time, showing that the subject enhances our knowledge of prehistoric human-animal interaction and also has rich opportunities for future research.

In terms of time periods considered, I focus my analysis on the Greek historic period (8th century through Hellenistic period). I do not include Roman art or archaeological evidence, unless it is especially pertinent. I do include Greek writers from the Roman period, most notably Pausanias. In order to better understand this phenomenon, its origins, and possible developments over time, I examine material more broadly in time and space. Thus, I look at evidence from the Neolithic period and Bronze Age, the latter most notably from the Minoans and Mycenaeans. Chart 1 below is the chronological dating system used for the Bronze Age material.[13]

[13] I use the following chronological abbreviations: EN, MN, LN = Early, Middle, Late Neolithic; EM, MM, LM = Early, Middle, Late Minoan; EH, MH, LH = Early, Middle, Late Helladic; EBA, MBA, LBA = Early, Middle, Late Bronze Age; and EIA = Early Iron Age. I do not include BCE/CE, unless it is unclear.

Chart 1. Chronological dating system for the Bronze Age Aegean. (Pedley 2007, 31).



As for content, I analyze terrestrial theriomorphic beings that are associated with both religious contexts and from (non-religious) myth. This analysis is interdisciplinary, utilizing literary, epigraphical, art historical, and archaeological evidence, although I focus on the latter two disciplines to compliment previous scholarship. This thesis is organized into three main sections. In Chapter 2, I present evidence for 13 *consistently* theriomorphic beings and other theriomorphic iconography. Chapter 3 is an analysis and discussion of this evidence and possible trends in theriomorphic traditions in time, location, representation, and thematic groupings. Chapter 4 is where I synthesize the data and arguments and provide my overall conclusions. Finally, Appendix A is a compilation of sites where cult worship to Greek terrestrial theriomorphic deities took place, according to the literary and archaeological evidence.

1.2.b Terminology

There are multiple modern terms used to denote aspects of theriomorphism that need to be defined.

1. Anthropomorphism: ascribing human form and/or characteristics to a non-human being
2. Demon/Daimon: a fanciful, often hybrid figure that has supernatural or magic powers, can be good and/or bad, and is typically in the service of a higher deity[14]
3. Hybrid: having or produced by a combination of two or more distinct elements[15]
4. Mixanthropism: describing a being which has composite form containing both human and non-human parts[16]
5. Monster: fanciful figure from myth that is often an amalgamation or hybrid of several different species, often human and animal
6. Theriomorphism: Ascription of animal characteristics to human figures[17]
7. Therioanthropism: describing deities that have human and animal form
8. Zoocephalic- having an animal head and anthropomorphic body and limbs
9. Zoomorphism: describing humans with animal attributes

In general, theriomorphism, therioanthropism, zoomorphism, and mixanthropism all denote the same phenomenon. I have chosen to use the term "theriomorphism" for consistency and because it is widely known.

[14] Demons are typically known from Mesopotamian cultures. Due to the philosophical complexity of the Greek daimon and later Christian connections to demons, I abstain from using these terms (although they are often common in older scholarship). For more on the Greek daimon, see Ferguson 1984, 35-50.
[15] Aston (2011, 143) disapproves of this term to describe theriomorphic deities because hybridism implies that mixing originated from conception (i.e., animal + human = hybrid). I use this term loosely to denote only beings that are a mix of a human and one terrestrial animal species in appearance.
[16] Aston (2011, 13) creates this term to highlight ancient connotations within the word, as discussed below.
[17] The root "*therio*-" comes from the Greek word for a wild animal (θηρίον). In some scholarship, theriomorphism can refer especially to deities, yet I use the term to refer to both religious and non-religious hybrids.

This variation is also present in ancient Greek vocabulary. Although ancient Greeks were interested in theriomorphism, they did not have a single word to describe an animal-human composite being. There are several common words for "monster," "prodigy," or "unnatural being," with the most common being τέρας and πέλωρ. There are adjectives to indicate a "half animal, half human."[18] These include: διφῦής (meaning "of dual nature or form," but it can also be used to denote dual genders or nature), ἡμιβροτός ("half man"),[19] and μιξόθηρ ("part/mixed beast [with man]").[20] This variety of ancient terminology and lack of a specific noun for such a composite being, I posit, follow along with the fluid and complex nature of ancient theriomorphism that is detailed in this thesis.

1.3.c Categorization of Hybrids

Theriomorphic beings can be religious, non-religious, or ambiguous. Hybrids can be categorized according to the following criteria: deities who receive cultic worship, mythological beings (including monsters) that are known from myth and art but were not worshiped, and idiosyncratic depictions. In this thesis, I examine 13 terrestrial theriomorphic beings and iconographical representations in detail, which are listed below. Eight of these are deities, which are in bold.

[18] Aston 2011, 11-14.
[19] Opp. *Kyneg*. 2.7 describes a centaur.
[20] Themist. *Or*.23.284a-b; Eur. *Ion* 1161; Lib. *Or*. 59.30.

Terrestrial Theriomorphic Beings:

- Horse: **Cheiron**, **Demeter Melaina**, Satyrs
- Goat and Ram: **Pan** (and Panes), **Apollo Kereatas, Apollo Karneios, Zeus Ammon**
- Bull: **Acheloos**, Minotaur
- Snake: **Kekrops**
- Other: iconography from Lykosoura, figurine(s) from Tegea, and figurine from Petrovouni

Like Aston (2011), I chose hybrids that are consistently theriomorphic. There are other mythological beings, monsters, and deities that have terrestrial theriomorphic attributes, but I did not include them because they are rarely depicted in this form or have elements of aerial or aquatic attributes.[21] Noting these other hybrids' existence, however, shows the fluidity and non-homogeneous nature of Greek culture and religion.

1.2.d Criteria and Evidence

Most of the information and conclusions in this thesis derive from the data in Appendix A, which is a catalog of centers of cultic worship to terrestrial theriomorphic deities. I compiled this catalog myself, so it is necessary to expound upon my methodology. It is categorized by region, date, evidence, and the type of evidence. "Regions" refer to the ancient names of Greek territories. Figure 1.3.d.1 is a map of these territories, although it does not include North Africa. I do not note or include specific numerical data for Italian Greek territories (Magna Graecia, Italy, and Sicily) and Libya because they are predominantly Greek colonies and I feel it is enough to highlight numerous occurrences to a deity at a location if it is outside Greece. This decision follows

[21] Honorable mentions include:

- Snake: Typhon (snake-man hybrid monster); Echidna (snake-woman monster), Hydra (monster with snake attributes), King Nereus (snake-man with wings), Thetis (sea snake-woman hybrid), and Zeus Meilichios (god as snake).
- Bull: Dionysos *tauromorphos*, Zeus *tauromorphos*, and Serapis.
- Dog: Hekate (appears in dog-form on the 6th century Francois Vase).
- Nymphs: various theriomorphic forms.
- Monsters: Gorgons, griffins, sirens, harpies, and sphinxes which commonly have wings.

my objective to show concentrations of terrestrial theriomorphism in mainland Greece. The evidence for worship is taken from literary references, archaeology (architecture, inscriptions, or cultic effigies), and coins.[22] Most of the literary evidence is from Pausanias, who wrote considerably late in the 2nd century CE.[23] It is important to note that many of the shrines and sanctuaries to theriomorphic deities are open air, remain undiscovered, or are located at another god's sanctuary. These factors make it difficult to find these sacred areas and reconstruct cult activity. The chart below, which accounts for multiple types of evidence at each location, shows that, despite the difficulties in finding material remains, most evidence comes from the archaeological record. The sources for various types of evidence of cultic worship mainly come from the *RE*, *LIMC* and Farnell (1896-1909).

Table 1. Types of Evidence to Theriomorphic Deities (see Appendix A).

Hybrid Deity	Literary Evidence (L)	Archaeological Evidence at Specific Sites (A)	Coins (C)
Cheiron	3	3	2
Demeter Melaina	2	1	0
Pan	23	28	12
Apollo Kereatas	2	1	0
Apollo Karneios	12	9	1
Zeus Ammon	4	8	10
Acheloos	7	15	8
Kekrops	1	2	0
	54	**67**	**33**

[22] Coins show that particular regions are connected to particular deities, animals, and myths. Heads of deities are rare on the earliest coins but become popular in the 5th and 4th centuries. For more on coins as a means of showcasing regional identity, see Carradice and Price 1988, 53-62.
[23] There are numerous precautions to note when considering Pausanias' reliability, nevertheless, I document his accounts.

1.2.e Significance

The research in this thesis demonstrates the long-held, complex, and varied relationship that people from the ancient Mediterranean had with animals and nature that challenges preconceived notions and generalizing statements in previous scholarship. Several conclusions can be reached. First, although most terrestrial theriomorphic beings first appear at the beginnings of the historical period, theriomorphism was also prevalent before and after this time, i.e., in the Bronze Age and through to the 2nd century CE, at least. While animals may symbolize divine aspects in many cultures, this does not mean there is a collective consciousness that has shifted towards viewing divinities in an anthropomorphic light.[24] More likely, theriomorphic gods were created because it is human nature to be curious, observe, and find meaning in the world around us, including our relationship with nature and animals.[25] There is also a notable concentration of terrestrial theriomorphism in the region of Arcadia, in the heart of the Peloponnese, but it appears more broadly in both rural and urban settings, sometimes with different connotations associated with each being (i.e., having specific associations to a particular landscape, myth, or practice versus generic symbolism). In addition, Egyptian, Cypriot, and Near Eastern cultures likely influenced the inception of terrestrial hybridity to the Greeks in varying ways. Representations of these beings, as well as their thematic symbolisms and characteristics, show that ancients were fascinated by the concept of duality between animals and humans, wild and tame, and civilized and savage.

[24] Rupp 2007, 19.
[25] Rupp 2007, 19.

We proceed now to Chapter 2, where I present the evidence for the 13 theriomorphic beings and iconographical figures from the Greek historic period. Their origins in myth, literature, art, and descriptions of sacred spaces (when available) are explored, as well as their spheres of influence, trends in iconographic representations, and cultic worship (if any).

CHAPTER 2: EVIDENCE OF TERRESTRIAL THERIOMORPHIC BEINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence for terrestrial beings who are commonly represented as theriomorphic in form in the Greek historic period. It is divided into categories by animal (horse, goat and ram, bull, snake, and other). For each lesser mythological being (i.e., centaurs, satyrs, and the Minotaur), I provide a diachronic view of their iconography and origins in myth. For each deity, I also examine their iconography and mythological references, as well as evidence for cult worship. This evidence for all of the hybrids provides a basis for analyzing trends in Chapter 3 concerning their iconographical representations, locations, and ritual practice (if any) over time and space. Furthermore, specifics of each deity's ritual practice are detailed in Chapter 3 based on theme.

2.1 Horse

2.1.a Centaurs

Although the centaur is seen as a Greek species in popular culture, it likely has Near Eastern origins. The first images of centaurs appear in Near Eastern art in the 14th and 13th centuries, yet they are not simply human-horse hybrids. The most common type of Near Eastern centaur has a human upper body, horse lower body, large wings at the waist, and a scorpion tail.[26] There is, however, only one extant example of a fully equine centaur from ancient Near Eastern culture, from Assyria, as shown in Figure 2.1.a.1.[27] On

[26] There are numerous examples of this type, e.g., Padgett 2003b, 129, fig. 11. Centaurs typically hold a bow and arrow, wear a cap, and hunt gazelles.
[27] Padgett 2003b, 131.

this seal from the 13th century, the centaur has the upper body of a human and full equine body (including hooves) and is surrounded by two men. His torso is frontal and muscular as he holds a bow in his right hand and a dead quadruped in his left. Seemly from their inception, centaurs are associated with civilized life and shown interacting with humans, hunting, and fighting.

In terms of Aegean art, Aston (2011) and Padget (2003b) do not discuss Mycenaean centaurs. Shear (2002) has identified two imported Mycenaean terracotta centaurs at Ras Samra-Ugarit in Syria that date to the 13th century.[28] This site is important for showing cultural interaction between the Near East and Mycenaeans from an early date. Yet, only the lower halves of the figurines (Figs. 2.1.a.2 and 2.1.a.3) remain, complicating their identification as centaurs. Shear, however, convincingly points out that the unusual shape of the torso, which is painted black and curves in, likely depicts arms.[29] In addition, compared to other large quadruped figurines from Ugarit (Fig. 2.1.a.4), the horizontal body of the centaurs is too low to be that of a bull or horse. There are also prehistoric centaurs on the Greek mainland. The first is a gem (Fig. 2.1.a.5) from Prosymna near the Argive Heraion that was found in a LHIIIB tomb.[30] On this gem, two centaurs have the full lower body of horses and upper bodies of humans and face each other. A similar image appears on a LMIIB band-seal from Crete.[31] These early centaurs suggest that the concept of these hybrids in Greek lore occurred during a time of cultural interaction in the LBA, a few hundred years after the introduction of the horse into the

[28] Shear (2002, 147) notes that the figurines were found in a LBA phase and are made of characteristic Mycenaean clay fabric and decorations. Other Mycenaean clay vessels were found at the site as well.
[29] Shear 2002, 149.
[30] Nilsson 1971, 37; Blegen 1937, 277, n. 11 and fig. 589; Shear 2002, 148.
[31] Nilsson 1971, 37. See Evans 1902, 58, fig. 3.

Greek world in the early 2nd millennium.[32] This relatively short amount of time could indicate that the horse still felt new in the mindset of these peoples, which perpetuated the idea of the centaur.

Centaurs are also present during the EIA, the significance of which is discussed in Chapter 3. There is a centaur on a Sub-Mycenaean pyxis from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens.[33] The most famous early centaur comes from the burials at Lefkandi in Euboea dated to the mid-10th century (Fig. 2.1.a.6).[34] Due to the exceptional quality and detail of this Protogeometric figurine, there is debate about whether this is a generic representation of a centaur or if it is Cheiron from later mythological accounts. Notable features of this centaur include: an indention over the left shoulder where he was probably holding an object (a tree branch?), a distinctly human face, four hooved feet, and a gash on the lower leg.[35] The gash below the knee cap could be an allusion to the story of Cheiron described much later by Apollodorus.[36] In this myth, Herakles wounds Cheiron's knee with a poison arrow, which later causes Cheiron to give up his immortality to die and escape the pain. If this is Cheiron, it would predate the introduction of narrative mythological scenes that are introduced in the Geometric period by about 150 years.

In myth, centaurs are a mortal species descended from Ixion, King of the Thesselian Lapithae.[37] Ixion desired to sleep with Hera, but an outraged Zeus made a cloud called Nephele in the form of a sleeping Hera to trick Ixion. The resulting offspring

[32] Shear 2002, 151; Crouwel 1981, 32.
[33] Bohen 1988, 12-15, figs 2.1, 3.1, pl. 1.1.
[34] Desborough et al. 1970, 24. The handmade head was found in Tomb I and the wheel made remainder from Tomb 3.
[35] Desborough et al. 1970, 24-25.
[36] Apollo. *Bibl.* 2.5.4.
[37] Pind. *Pyth.* 2.21-48; Apoll. *Epit.* 120.

from this unnatural union were the centaurs. They travel in packs, most notably in Thessaly and in Arcadia.[38] As noted above, centaurs are often depicted holding weapons, usually a tree branch, stones, or quadrupeds (especially foxes) for food, and are associated with combat, such as battle between Hercules and Nessos and the centauromachies. Yet, by the Geometric period, centaurs take on a new iconographical feature. Figure 2.1.a.7 is a bronze statuette group depicting a centaur fighting a man, but now the centaur is comprised of a fully human body, including human genitals, legs, and feet, and only the rear end of a horse. [39] From now on, centaurs could be shown in either form. In the 7th century, centaurs appear more frequently in a variety of media across the Mediterranean. For example, there are terracotta figurines from Boeotia[40] and Cyprus,[41] many are depicted on Protoattic and Protocorinthian vases,[42] seals in ivory, stone, and metal, reliefs, and bronzes.[43] The variety of centaurs in art speaks to the popularity of the mythical beast.

The most popular centaurs are the only two deemed "civilized" by ancient authors. These are Cheiron, who was from Mt. Pelion in Thessaly and friend and tutor to the famous heroes, and Pholos, the leader of a tribe of centaurs inhabiting Mt. Pholoe in

[38] Padgett 2003, 9-10. According to myth, centaurs fled to Mt. Pholoe in Arcadia after the centauromachy with the Lapiths (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.* 4.69.4; Paus. 5.5.9-10). Herakles interacted with centaurs in Arcadia, such as Pholos (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.* 4.12.3. For centaurs in other Arcadian myths, see Call. *H*. 3. 220 ff).
[39] Padgett 2003b, 133.
[40] Padgett 2003b, cat. no. 21.
[41] Padgett 2003b, cat. nos. 19, 20.
[42] e.g., Padgett 2003b, cat. nos. 30, 31.
[43] Padgett 2003, 11.

Arcadia.[44] Until the mid-5th century, in general, artists seemed to have reserved the centaur type with human legs only for the civilized Cheiron.[45]

2.1.b Cheiron

Cheiron is arguably the most well-known centaur and even was the focus of worship. Myths about Cheiron were known from the earliest times of the historical period, as evidenced by a reference in the *Iliad*.[46] Unlike other centaurs, he was an immortal, born from Kronos and the ocean nymph Philyra.[47] Kronos transformed himself into a horse during intercourse, accounting for Cheiron's hybrid appearance.[48] Depictions of Cheiron are represented in all types of media, but especially on vases, in scenes associated with marriage, hunting, and teaching the young male heroes.[49] He is typically draped in a chiton, himation, or combination of the two, and sometimes carries a branch. He is represented as being highly civilized and distinctive from other centaurs.

The first safely identifiable depictions of Cheiron are on two Protoattic vase fragments – one from a vase by the Polyphemus Painter and the other by the Ram Jug Painter.[50] Both fragments show Peleus giving young Achilles to Cheiron to begin his tutelage.[51] Later, he appears on prominent mythological scenes, such as the marriage of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase (Fig. 2.2.b.1) Yet, as mentioned above, the trend

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[44] Hom. *Il.* 2.832; Padgett 2003, 17.
[45] Padgett 2003, 11. There are regional and geographic variances, but in general this trend applies. For example, starting in the 6th century, there are examples of centaurs with human legs ending in hooves in eastern Greece, Thasos, Macedonia, and Etruria.
[46] Hom. *Il*. 2.832.
[47] Hes., *Theog*. 1001-2; Pind. *Pyth.* 3-3; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1231-31. c.f., Xen. *Cyn.* 1.4 says he was born to the nymph Nais.
[48] Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 1240-1.
[49] See Padgett (2003) for many prominent examples.
[50] Pagett 2003, 20. See Morris 1984, 39, pl. 4 and 55-56, pl.12, respectively.
[51] Padgett 2003, 20. This scene becomes popular in the 6th and 5th centuries and is described in *Bacchylides*, frag. 27.

of depicting Cheiron with a full human body ends by the High Classical period, as shown in Figure 2.1.b.2 on an Attic Red Figure bell krater that is attributed to the Eurpolis Painter and dated to ca. 440-430.[52] He maintains this representation through the Roman period. Here Cheiron appears to be walking forward in the manner of a horse as he guides his wife, the nymph Chariklo. Typical of the period, artists are standardizing iconography, distinguishing Cheiron by the context of the narrative scene and his well-known attributes.

Cheiron is the only centaur to receive cult worship. As shown in Appendix A, Cheiron was likely worshiped at seven locations. The earliest evidence for worship comes from an inscription dated to the 7th century from near the temple of Apollo Karneios on Thera.[53] Unsurprisingly, however, his cult centers are concentrated in Thessaly, where his myths took place and the rolling hills and fertile landscape were ideal for rearing horses. Figure 2.1.b.3 is a map with the locations of his cult sites.

Not much is known about the way in which Cheiron was worshiped, but there are associations to kourotrophy, healing, and wisdom that relates to his personality from myth. At the cave at Pharsalos, the long and metrical inscription (*SEG* I 248) records the favors granted to a certain Pantalkes by the nymphs, Pan, Hermes, Herakles and his (unknown) companions, Asklepios, and Hygeia.[54] Cheiron gave Pantalkes wisdom and musical ability.[55] In addition, at Mt. Pelion, the Hellenistic geographer Heraklides describes a sanctuary to Zeus Aktaios (Akraios?) and a Cheironion.[56] Aston notes that the

[52] Padgett 2003b, 200-201.
[53] *IG* XII, 3, 360. The inscription is of his name: "K*h*ίρων."
[54] Aston 2011, 91; See Giannopoulos 1912, 1919.
[55] Aston 2011, 91.
[56] Herakilides 2.8.

term “Cheironion” itself denotes worship.[57] In addition, Heraklides notes that priests select the most distinguished citizens and those in the prime of their life (ἀκμή) to partake in a ritual to avert future adverse climates during the rising of the Dog Star.[58] The suggestion of individuals at their acme could indicate that Cheiron had kourotrophic functions, but no material evidence for this remains and Heraklides does not specify them as only boys. Cheiron seemed to have similar functions at Thera, for the inscription lists Cheiron’s name alongside Lokaia, a local goddess of rearing and childbirth. Although highly speculative, Cheiron’s association to tutelage in myth and iconography make it seem likely that Cheiron was involved with ephebic rites.[59]

Despite scanty ritual evidence, we can deduce that Cheiron served as a conduit between the realm of the human and divine by offering his divine wisdoms.[60] He often uttered prophecies[61] and instructed the art of healing, bee-keeping, and animal husbandry to humans.[62] Cheiron was undoubtedly an early figure who habituated the notion that an animal-human hybrid could master both the human and animal realms in a divine and positive way.

2.1.c Demeter Melaina

Demeter Melaina (“black”) is another figure associated with horses, although she is described as horse-headed. She is a local Arcadian goddess of the dark and protector of the vegetation cycle.[63] Pausanias describes how lustful Poseidon Hippios pursued

[57] Aston 2011, 92.
[58] Herakilides 2.8.
[59] Aston 2011, 92-94.
[60] McInerney 2017, 269.
[61] Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.101–109; Nem. 3.43–52; Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.2.
[62] Hom. *Il*. 4.215–216; Pind., *Pyth.* 3.43–45; Ap. Rhod., *Arg*. 2.512–520.
[63] Jost 2007, 271.

Demeter, but she turned herself into a horse to hide from him.[64] He then turned himself into a stallion and they had intercourse. Angry, Demeter adorned herself in black and refused to leave until Pan stumbled upon her, after which Zeus and the Fates came to her aid. During her times of anger, Demeter brings about famine. According to the Phigilians, she later bore an anthropomorphic daughter, Despoina.[65]

Both Jost (1985) and Aston (2011) note that the goddess seems to have only been worshiped at one location, Phigalia. On the outskirts of this town in southwestern Arcadia, as shown on Figure 2.1.c.1, Pausanias mentions that there is a cave on Mt. Elaion in which the citizens worship a xoanon of a hybrid Demeter:

> πεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα: καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ, γυναικὶ δὲ ἐοικέναι τἄλλα πλὴν κεφαλήν: κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κόμην εἶχεν ἵππου, καὶ δρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εἰκόνες προσεπεφύκεσαν τῇ κεφαλῇ: χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνεδέδυτο καὶ ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας: δελφὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιστερὰ δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ.
>
> The image, they say, was made after this fashion. It was seated on a rock, like to a woman in all respects, except the head. She had the head and hair of a horse and images of serpents and other beasts grew out of her head. Her tunic reached right to her feet; on one of her hands was a dolphin and on the other a dove.[66]

Pausanias' description is not without modern controversy though, since the xoanon he describes had been replaced with two other images. First, was a bronze ἄγαλμα ("glory, gift, statue") by Onatas of Aegina from the 4th century and the image Pausanias was looking at when he made the offering, although he does not describe it specifically.[67] The original xoanon had burned in a fire long before his visit. After a famine hit the town a

[64] Paus. 8.42.1-13.
[65] Paus. 8.42.1. The people of Thelopousa also believed that Demeter gave birth to a horse called Arion (Paus. 8.25.3-7).
[66] Paus. 8.42.4. Translation is my own. Greek is from Frazer (1913).
[67] Aston 2011, 100, esp. n. 40.

few generations later, the oracle at Delphi ordered the Phigalians to recreate the statue and make offerings of wool, grain, currants, and oil to the god.[68]

Unfortunately, no images of a horse-headed Demeter or remains from this cult place in Phigalia have been discovered.[69] The lack of evidence has caused some debate among scholars about Pausanias' validity concerning his description of the statue or the possibility that locals had hoaxed him.[70] I believe there are elements of truth in Pausanias' account. There are images of Potnia Theron-type deities associated with horses and horse-headed gorgons,[71] and, as discussed in Chapter 3, a theriomorphic Demeter with equine attributes is not implausible in Arcadia.

In addition, it seems likely to me that Demeter Melaina was also worshipped at the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, a site about 13 miles as the crow flies from Phigalia. Demeter was significantly worshiped at Lykosoura, despite the fact that Pausanias does not attribute the sanctuary to both deities or give mention to the epithet of Melaina during his visit.[72] For instance, Demeter had her own altar alongside Despoina's and the Great Mother's next to the temple, she was seated on a throne alongside Despoina (in anthropomorphic form) as part of the cult statue group by Damophon of Messene, and images concerning Demeter Melaina's myth were located in the portico just to the northeast of the altars and temple. In this portico, Pausanias describes several marble reliefs that depict the Moirai (Fates) and Zeus Moiragetes (Guide of the Fates) as well as

[68] Paus. 8.42.11.
[69] Voyatzis 1999, 149; Aston 2011, 99. c.f., Frazer 1913, 243.
[70] Jost 1985, 90.
[71] For more on this topic, see Scheffer 1994.
[72] Paus. 8.25.5.

images of Nymphs and Panes.[73] The strong association with theriomorphism at Lykosoura, as detailed below, also parallels the metamorphic union that produced Despoina. There was also apparently an altar to Poseidon Hippios just outside the sanctuary that has not been discovered.[74]

2.1.d Satyrs

The last of the horse hybrids to be considered here are satyrs. In myth, satyrs are the children of the five female Hekaterides or nymphs of rustic dance.[75] They are generally a mortal species, although named satyrs can be demi-gods. Padgett (2003) provides a comprehensive overview of satyrs' role in Dionysiac rituals, nature cults, and the theater as well as examples of local myths associated with particular satyrs.[76] Satyrs are the most fluid form of terrestrial theriomorphic hybrids in both name and iconography, even in antiquity.

Satyrs first appear in art and writing in the Archaic period. Until the Hellenistic period and interaction with the later Romans, the term "satyrs" could be used interchangeably with "silenoi."[77] The term "satyr" first appears in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women,* which is dated to the 6th century.[78] "Silenoi" is earlier, first appearing in the 7th

[73] Paus. 8.37.10.
[74] Paus. 8.37.10.
[75] The Archaic (Post-Hesiodic) *Catalogue of Ships* describes that satyrs, along with Kouretes and the mountain nymphs, are the offspring of the Hekarteros and the daughter of Phoroneus; Strabo 10.3.19 adds that satyrs are the product of the Hekaterides' union with their brothers, the Daktyloi.
[76] Padgett 2003, 34-45.
[77] See, Padgett 2003, 29-30. By the Hellenistic period, "silenoi" comes to refer to older satyrs, following Pl. *Symp*. 215b. Here, Alkibiades compares Sokrates to both silenoi made by sculptors and the older satyr Marsyas. In addition, this distinction likely developed because of satyr plays, where it was frequently implied that the old, white-haired Pappasilenos was the father of the satyrs in the chorus (e.g., Eur. *Cyc*. 82).
[78] Padgett 2003, 29. Interestingly, "satyr" does not appear again until Euripides (Eur. *Bacch*. 13 and *Cyc*. 100).

century in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.[79] For consistency, I will refer to this type of hybrid as a satyr.

In art, the first typical depiction of satyrs occurs in the early 6th century.[80] However, satyrs can be pushed back into the 7th century, appearing on Middle Protoattic pottery.[81] As shown on Figure 2.1.d.1, these are a more abstract type of satyr, but they have the basic iconographical elements. They are hairy, wield stones, and have a comedic form. One of the first safely identifiable examples is from the François Vase (Fig. 2.1.d.2). Here, the satyr (which is a representative of silenoi) appear in its characteristic appearance in early Greek art with the body of a man and equine attributes, such as a long tail, ears, and sometimes as here, legs.[82] They can also be covered in thin body hair (Fig. 2.1.d.3.). Characteristic to the hybrid is its expressive facial features that emphasizes its bestiality.[83] The satyrs have large and rounded noses, wide eyes, open mouths, and budging foreheads with full beards and hair (where not bald). In addition, satyrs are typically (semi-)ithyphallic. The satyr's phallus on the François Vase reveals the complexity the species' hybridity. The artist took great pains to distinguish the satyr's oversized, albeit, human phallus from the donkey's in front of him.[84] As a fertility symbol, satyrs represent *human* lust, savagery, and erotic acts, which are emphasized here by the close placement of the hunched satyr's phallus to the donkey's rear.

[79] *HH Aph.* 262.
[80] *LIMC* "Silenoi."
[81] c.f., Padgett 2003, 30. His argument against this being a satyr is based on the fact that there is no indication that the figure is ithyphallic, yet this area of vessel is missing.
[82] Satyrs' legs can be depicted in four ways: human, equine, a combination of the two, or with human legs and hooved feet. The distribution of these depictions suggests that this was based on the painter's stylistic choice, although the latter convention is predominantly popular in the Greek East.
[83] Padgett 2003, 27.
[84] Padgett 2003, 29-30.

Satyrs also represent models of antisocial irresponsibly by thieving, acting cowardly, mischievously, and being overly sexually charged, they were objects of amusement and not to be emulated.[85] From their earliest depictions, satyrs are associated with Dionysos as they participate in the *thaisos*, drinking, and theater.[86] For instance, there are satyrs on a fragment of a 6th century dinos by Sophilos in which three hairy, equine-legged satyrs revel while holding kantharoi (Fig. 2.1.d.3). Their role in theater and transformation though satyr masks is explored in Chapter 3. In the later 6th and 5th centuries, satyrs are often portrayed mimicking human situations, like revelry, or acting as sailors, warriors, and athletes. Following the introduction of Pan into Attic art in the 5th century, as discussed below, satyrs become confused with Panes and their iconography becomes conflated with a goat, even through Roman times, as demonstrated by Figure 2.1.d.4 (as compared to Fig. 2.2.a.6 of Pan).

2.2 Goat and Ram

2.2.a Pan

Pan, arguably the most popular of terrestrial hybrids, has a complex history and evolution that showcases the god as a representative of both rural and civilized life. This statement is supported not only by Pan's iconography as an amalgamation of both human and hircine elements, but also in the landscapes, locations, and aspects of his cult practice. There is substantially more archaeological evidence for Pan and this allows for a more detailed analysis for terrestrial animal-human hybrids.

[85] Padgett 2003, 28.
[86] Padgett 2003b, 236.

In myth, Pan is a terrestrial god of shepherding, pasturing, and hunting and presides at the boundary between savagery and civilization. He is also associated with rustic music, prophecy, laughter, savage love making, and panic during war and illnesses. Ancient writers, most notably Herodotus and Pausanias, place Pan's historical origins in Arcadia, which is supported by the archaeological record that is described below.[87] Pan was introduced into Attica and the rest of the Greece in 490 BCE. Herodotus (6.105) tells of the Athenian runner Pheidippides who saw an epiphany of Pan in the mountains near Tegea on the way to Sparta during the Persian Wars. Upon his return to Athens, he sung the god's praises and Pan's cult spread. The oldest evidence for Pan, however, comes from two inscriptions (*IG* V^2 556, 557) that were discovered by Kourouniotes at the sanctuary of Pan at Berkela in the Neda Valley on Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia and are dated to the late 6th century.[88] The first literary mentions of Pan come much later in the early 5th century from writings by Pindar.[89] The *Homeric Hymn to Pan* dates generally to the Classical period, probably around 450.

In terms of iconography, Pan always remains a goat-man hybrid in Greek art, but his appearance can vary based on region, time period, and associations. Because Pan arguably reached Panhellenic status, his many extant images may reveal the complex feelings some ancient peoples may have felt about theriomorphism. Typically, he is

[87] Hdt. 2. 153.1; Paus. 8.30. Herodotus also claims Pan originally was exported from Egypt as the goat-god Mendes. Pan is the child of Hermes and nymph. Myths of Pan's maternal parent include: the daughter of Dryopos (*HH* 19 to Pan), Thymbris (Apollon. 1.22-23, Schol. Theoc. 1.123), Penelope (Hdt. 2.145, Apollon. E7.38, Hyginus, *Fabulae* 224, Nonus, *Dionysiaca* 14.67), Sose (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 14.67), Kallisto (Schol. Theo. 1.3), Orneios (Schol. Theo. 1.3)

[88] Cardete 2018, 53; Borgeaud 1979, 107; See Kourouniotis 1902. Pan may be older than extant evidence suggests. There is an analog in Indic (Sanskrit), Pusan, which should point towards an Indo-European heritage. Also, there is the term ai-ki-pa-ta /Aigipastas/ ("goat-feeder) in Linear B. (Beekes 2010, 1149). This is, of course, difficult to prove.

[89] Pind. *P.* 3.77 ff.

depicted with a λᾰγωβόλον (stick for hunting hares) and his syrinx. He can be accompanied in art by other major deities such as Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos, Cybele, and the Nymphs. Herbig (1949), followed by Boardman (1998), catalogue Pan's iconography and suggest that there is a notable evolution of his iconography towards becoming more human once the god's cult spread outside of Arcadia in the Classical period. Herbig posits that Fig 2.5.c.1 (a-b) from Petrovouni and three Archaic lead ex-votos from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (Fig. 2.2.a.1) represent the first images of Pan.[90] I address the Petrovouni group below, but they are likely not Panes. The 7th century lead goats from Sparta are purely animal, standing on their hind legs while probably dancing. Considering the context of the lead ex-votos, it is more likely that these are in fact reveling animals (i.e., not Pan) who are joined by Artemis Orthia (as a Potnia Theron figure) and other dancers and music players.[91] Nevertheless, the first images of Pan do highlight his goat form. The first identifiable image of Pan is a 5th century bronze figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi in Arcadia (Fig. 2.2.a.2.). It shows Pan with a head and neck that is entirely hircine. He stands in an *aposkopeuon* pose that he often adopts, in which he shields the sun with his hand as he looks into the distance.[92] His torso and arms are human, while his legs are animal. Over time, however, depictions show that his face and body gradually become more human.

The 5th century bronze head of Pan (Fig. 2.2.a.3) representing a terminal of a caduceus shows Pan with a grotesque goat face, but with the addition a human beard. This same phenomenon also appears on Attic pottery. A fragment of a volute crater from

[90] Herbig 1949, 52. The *LIMC* "Pan" reference also lists this as an image of a proto-Pan, but I identify it a group of horse-human hybrids.
[91] See Dawkins, 1929, esp. Taf. 189, 23-24. This plate shows the animal dancers around Artemis.
[92] Boardman 1998, 29-30.

ca. 490 (Fig. 2.2.a.4), the bell krater by the Pan Painter from ca. 470 (Fig. 2.2.a.5), and a pelike from ca. 450 (Fig. 2.2.a.6) shows his evolution from a fully upright animal, to a hybrid with an animal head and human body, and finally to a human with hircine attributes, respectively. Pan's iconography changed even more towards the end of the 5th century and into the Hellenistic period. On a Nymph Relief (Fig. 2.2.a.7), dated to the late 5th century from the Attic cave at Vari, three nymphs stand in a cave, while a seated, youthful, more human Pan sits on rocks at a higher elevation.[93] Here, Pan is shown almost entirely human and beardless as he plays his syrinx, except for his small horns.[94] Youthful Pan became a common representation for the god on coins across Greece (Fig. 2.2.a.8).

Boardman credits this transition in iconography to the abilities of Attic artists who "were skilled at humanizing the bestial" in a way that mirrors the representation of satyrs.[95] As shown on fragment of a volute krater (Fig. 2.2.a.4.) from above, a satyr stands behind Pan. During the early 5th century, satyrs were mainly human with horse ears, long tails, and occasional hooves.[96] Satyrs and Pan share associations with music (although not rustic), savage lovemaking, and a connection to animals. It is not unlikely that Pan's image from this time period is based on the connection or confusion between the two characters' physical and personal similarities. As the 5th century progressed, it also became popular to represent the gods in their form as eternal youths, especially Dionysos.[97] Therefore, as Pan became more associated with youthful Hermes, Apollo,

[93] Thallon 1903, 317.
[94] Thallon 1903, 318. This is the first extant instance of the seated, youthful Pan, that is later seen on Attic and Arcadian coins, causing Thallon to believe that a seated, well known statue of Pan must have existed.
[95] Boardman 1998, 27-28. A more detailed discussion of anthropomorphization is in Chapter 3.
[96] Satyrs did not have tails in Laconia (Padgett 2003, 29).
[97] Boardman 1998, 28.

and Dionysos in art, three types of Pans were represented alongside each other: the older bearded, goat legged god; the youthful ephebe with small goat horns; and generic Panes (*paniskoi*). The latter are beardless young Panes with the horns and legs of goats, that become prominent in Dionysiac scenes.[98] Artists are playing with the boundaries of human and animal, showing the fluidity and complexity of Greek art and religion.

Pan's sanctuaries, like his character and image, reference his rustic nature. Appendix A lists 60 known Pan sanctuaries in the Greek world that are plotted on Figure 2.2.a.10.[99] As mentioned, the earliest site with archaeological evidence is the sanctuary of Pan at Berekla in Arcadia. The landscapes of Pan sanctuaries differed significantly in Arcadia from the rest of the Greek world.

Pan sanctuaries in Arcadia are predominantly open-air shrines, which include whole mountain tops dedicated to him, shared sanctuaries with other deities in which Pan had an altar or shrine, as well as roadside shrines/altars. A synthesis of the locations and typologies of Pan's sanctuaries in this region is heavily based on Pausanias. When describing religious areas dedicated to Pan, Pausanias uses two words: νᾱός (temple) and ἱερόν (sanctuary). He only mentions two temples being dedicated to Pan in Arcadia, although, no physical remains from a temple have been safely discovered. The first site, at Heraia, was excavated in 1932 by A. Philadelpheus. He found a small square, brick foundation (4.20 x 4.20m) with openings to the north, east, and south.[100] No altar was discovered. This could be the temple described by Pausanias, but more than likely, as

[98] Thallon 1903, 322; Padgett 2003, 27.
[99] This list compiles research from Cardete 2016, Jost 1985, Borgeaud 1988, Farnell 1909, and Brommer (*RE*). It is the most compressive list of Pan sanctuaries to date, according to my research.
[100] Bourke 1985, 23.

stated by Bourke, this is a *baldacchino*, or a built canopy used as a covering of ceremonious activity.[101] The other temple at Peraitheis was abandoned during the time Pausanias visited and has remained undiscovered today. Scholars suggest that the temple may be at Agios Elias or even Berkela, which Pausanias probably not visit because he does not mention this name.[102] Kourouniotes excavated the remains at Berekla, which is in the foothills of Mt. Lykaion in the Neda Valley, in 1903 and 1909. A Byzantine church was placed directly on top of ancient architectural foundations, leading Kourouniotes to identify it as a temple.[103] Bourke (1985 and 1991) reconstructs the foundations as part of a stoa.[104] Roy (2009) notes that much of Bourke's publication lacks detailed findings to support his dating and reconstruction.[105] I do not think there is sufficient evidence to determine what type of building was at Berekla. Despite the identification of the ancient building, this site's location reveals that there is a concentration of Pan sanctuaries around western Arcadia near Mt. Lykaion, as shown in Figure 2.2.a.10. Cardete (2016) suggests that Pan sanctuaries were part of network of religious interaction though the Peloponnese before the synoecism of Megalopolis in the 4th century.[106]

Berekla's most important contribution to our understanding of Pan's worship, however, is in the form of the numerous figural votives. These bronze (and terracotta figurines) reveal information about the worshipers who were visiting the sanctuary of Pan

[101] Bourke 1985, 24.
[102] Cardette 2018, 76.
[103] Bourke 1985, esp. 90-98. Kourouniotis 1903 and 1909. The site consists of a 6th century retaining wall that served as a *peribolos* for an ash altar, for there is no other architecture from this period. The foundations of a late 4th – early 3th century building (28.14 m x 5.19 m) were found under the Byzantine church that is parallel to the retaining wall.
[104] Brouke does not publish his final arguments of Berekla. See Broucke 1991 (AIA abstract: "The Sanctuary of Pan at the Sources of the Neda River in Arcadia").
[105] Roy 2009, 56. The most notable ancient worked stone is a column capital that is used as spolia in the church.
[106] Cardete 2016, 15. For a more detailed analysis of Pan's worship, see Borgeaud 1988 and Cardete 2016.

at Berkela. The votives were found in a pit with ashes and bones from sacrifices.[107] Pausanias also mentions large reused statue bases that would have held bronze statues dedicated to Pan.[108] Although the terracotta figurines remain unpublished, the bronze ones were catalogued by Lamb (1925-6) and reexamined by Hübinger (1992). 24 other figurines can be securely attributed to the sanctuary, and 18 others are plausible candidates which are now held in various European museums.[109] These figurines are all part of the same artistic school, yet Lamb attributes them to Arcadia as part of the "Main Arcadian Style," which was a group (or groups) of local bronze artists during the Late Archaic and Classical periods,[110] and Hübinger reclassified some as coming from Messenia.[111] These statuettes all date to the second half of the 6th century to the first quarter of the 5th century and range in size between 0.503 and 0.130 m.[112] These figurines predominantly show male shepherd worshipers. They can be nude or clothed, although, most of the worshippers appear in rural garb as shepherds wearing a conical leather or felt hat, cloaks or tunics, and beards, as shown in Figure 2.2.a.11. About a third of this type carry an animal, usually a lamb, in their arms or around their shoulders. An inscription on Fig. 2.2.a.11 details that a certain Aineas dedicated this piece to Pan.[113] The high artistic quality and material of the figurines indicates that the worshipers at this remote site had considerable wealth. This follows the notion that despite shepherds living in rural environments, flocks had considerable value in the community.

[107] Hübinger 1992, 196.
[108] Paus. 8.41.3.
[109] Roy 2009, 62.
[110] Lamb 1925-6, 135. Bronze statuettes from this school have been found in the Neda Valley, Mt. Lykaion, Ithome, Bassai, and Tegea.
[111] Hübinger 1992, 191. His analysis is based on parallels from Messenia.
[112] Lamb 1925-6, 135.
[113] Lamb 1925-6, 141.

In addition to the shepherding figures, gods and animals in bronze were also dedicated at Berkela. There are images of Apollo Nomios (Fig. 2.2.a.12) and Hermes (Nomios?) (Fig. 2.2.a.13). [114] These two statues are taller than most of the worshipers. Also called *kriophoroi* statuettes, these are typically offered to pastoral Hermes and Apollo beginning in the Archaic period.[115] Hunted animals could also be represented alone.[116] Hübinger suggests that this votive material implies that religious feasting was connected with ritualized hunting, perhaps as a rite of passage for male youths.[117] Together the presence of both animals and gods at the sanctuary demonstrates Pan's character as a liminal god who communicates with the divine, humans, and animals in his liminal space.

Outside of Arcadia, Pan sanctuaries do not appear until the beginning of the 5th century following Pheidippides' epiphany of Pan on Mt. Parthenion. Here, Pan's sanctuaries are exclusively located either in man-made caves, natural grottos, or within another deity's' sanctuary. Appendix A shows that there are 60 sites of cult worship to Pan across the Mediterranean. From the surviving archaeological evidence and extensive literary evidence, it is possible to recreate aspects of his cult worship indicating that dedicators sought his protection for their flocks and prophecies, were possessed by his inspiration, and were god fearing.[118]

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[114] The figure identified as Apollo wears a conical hat and short tunic. He holds a lamb across his shoulders hand and would have held a staff in his right. Hermes wears a tunic and conical hat, has a lamb around his shoulders, and has the indication of winged sandals (Lamb 1925-6, 141).
[115] Bevan 1985, 253-4. More broadly, *kriophoroi* were dedicated to deities who received images of sheep in isolation, including, Athena, Hera, Artemis Orthia, Apollo, Demeter at Knossos, Hermes at Tangara, and Apollo on Cyprus.
[116] See Hübinger 1992, 204, fig. 16.
[117] Hübinger 1992, 205.
[118] In respect to being god fearing, Pausanias (8.37.10-11), while at Lykosoura, mentions that Pan could answer prayers and incite revenge on the wicked.

Considerable evidence for Pan's worship outside Arcadia comes from Athens, where it can be divided into public and private cult. We know from literary sources and inscriptions that the Athenians held annual commemorations to Pan in the form of a sacrifice and a λαμπαδηδρομία (torchrace).[119] His main sanctuary at Athens is a grotto that is located along the ascent to the Acropolis. Although no altar was discovered, Alciphron (4.13.4) notes that sacrifices took place at a low, simply built altar that was improvised on occasion from available materials in front of the statues that ornamented the cave. This type of altar is similar to those constructed for sacrifice to Nymphs, chthonic deities, or at funerals, in which a low altar of a rough-cut stone was set up.[120] In regard to the sacrifice, Lucian (*Bis. Acc.* 9) emphasizes that during the annual commemoration to Pan, one uncastrated, foul smelling male goat was offered at an altar amidst "noisy jollifications."[121] The peculiar specifications for a sacrificial goat does not seem so unusual when considering the value such an animal has to a shepherd or community. There was only one uncastrated male goat in each flock. The sacrifice not only references Pan's fertility and connection to the flock, but also the civilized aspect of domestication. Cheese, honey, milk, cakes, and wine were dedicated around the altar.[122]

Private offerings could take various forms at Athens as well, whether as a simple prayer from a passerby,[123] a person making an offering on a particular occasion, or financing a complete sacrifice or festival.[124] This could be instituted by a dream or vision

[119] Hdt. 6.105; *IG* I^2 310 is a record of cult accounts from 429 BCE; *IG* I^2 27 is a fragment of a sacred law code dated to 420.
[120] Borgeaud 1988, 163
[121] Borgeaud 1988, 157. The foul smell would have been the pheromones that the goat emits when it is in heat.
[122] Cardete 2016, 137.
[123] Men. *Dysc.* 10-12.
[124] Borgeaud 1988, 158.

from Pan.[125] Although only a few physical remains of such dedications survive the test of time at this cave, the Athenian cave offers insights into the rich public commemorations to Pan especially.[126]

2.2.b Apollo Kereatas

Unlike Pan, there is comparatively little evidence concerning the worship of Apollo Kereatas, his iconography, or character. Although he is imagined as ram-horned, it is important to discuss this god.[127] Jost identifies Apollo Kereatas as a horned protector of flocks, joining the numerous epithets to Apollo that deal with herding such as Apollo Karneios, Apollo Tragios, Apollo Nomios, Epimelios or Poimnios.[128] The only evidence for Apollo Kereatas in Greece comes from Pausanias, but he does not expand on the meaning of this epithet. Most likely it comes from κέρας, meaning "the horn of an animal."[129] This interpretation is tempting, especially when taken with the (possible) locations of his worship. Cults to Apollo Kereatas (known from literature) are concentrated in Arcadia, specifically at Mantinea[130] and the territory of the Aigytis, which is located on the borders between Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia (for a map of this region, see Fig. 2.2.b.1). [131] In addition, the god may have also had a counterpart in

[125] Paus. 2.32.6: Institution of the cult of Pan Luterios at Troizen began as the result of an appearance of Pan in a dream to city officials; Men. *Dysc*.; Longus 2.23.4 and 4.39.2.
[126] Cardete 2016, 131. The remains include a few pottery fragments, golden cicadas, and later Roman lamps. There were no Nymph Reliefs found in the cave.
[127] Farnell 1902, 113.
[128] Jost 1985, 482; Jost 2007, 271.
[129] For more discussion on the meaning of the epithet, see Jost 1985, 482.
[130] Paus. 8.32.3.
[131] Paus. 8.34.5. Jost (1985, 2) considers the Aigytis region part of Arcadia, which is at the border of Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia, despite many disputes over the territory with the Laconians. c.f., Roy 2009, esp. 207 posits that the Aigytis was Spartan territory until they lost it to Megalopolis in the 4th century.

Cyprus. Figure 2.2.b.2 is a map of the locations with probable worship to Apollo Kereatas.

At Pyla, in southeastern Cyprus, there is an inscription from the 3rd century mentioning Apollo Keraiatas (’Απόλλωνι Κεραιάτηι), showing a possible direct correlation to the Arcadian god.[132] Jost notes the possible misspelling of the epithet could have occurred in Pausanias’ *Periegesis* during the manuscript tradition.[133] There could also be multiple forms of the name. In addition, as shown in Figure 2.2.b.3, there is a 12th century bronze statuette from Enkomi, Cyprus of a probable god with animal horns who holds a spear. It could represent or be descended from Apollo Kereatas.[134] Dikaios (1962) suggests that following the destruction phase at the end of the Bronze Age, when Arcadian colonists were said to have come to Cyprus, they brought this form of Apollo Kereatas that was then assimilated into the local tradition.[135] Although these foundation myths- which are supported by Jost in the case of Arcadia- are extremely hypothetical, they are useful in demonstrating possible connections between Arcadia and Cyprus that reflect the common Mycenaean heritage that was preserved in both regions.

2.2.c Apollo Karneios

Similar to Apollo Kereatas, Apollo Karneios has ram attributes or is even depicted as ram-headed. Even in antiquity, his origins were obscure and often contradictory, as explained by Pausanias and in scholia.[136] Malkin (1994) and Farnell

[132] Jost 1985, 482; c.f., Mitford 1961, 116. The inscription is on wide-mouthed jar with two handles and a spout made of local yellow limestone.
[133] Jost 1985, 482.
[134] c.f., Dussaud (1952) who suggests that Apollo (Alasiotas) at Enkomi is analog for the Syrian god Resheph.
[135] Diakos 1962, 35.
[136] Paus. 3.13.4 - 5; Schol. Theo. 5.82-3.

(1902) provide significant analyses on this subject, but essentially there are three main theories, all of which are associated with plague, prophecy, and death. First, his cult began when the grove of cornelian cherry trees (τό Καρνειάσιον) in Apollo's sanctuary on Mt. Ida (on Crete) were chopped down and Apollo brought about a plague. Secondly, a seer named Karnos, who prophesized to the mythical Herakleidai, was accidentally killed during the invasion. This tragedy brought a plague and instruction by the Delphic oracle to institute a cult of Apollo Karneios to subdue it. Finally, the name could come from when a Spartan seer named Kritios (literally "ram"), son of Theokles, was killed by the Herakleidai and then the area had a plague.[137] No matter the aetiology of Apollo Karneios, it likely has a connection to a Spartan (real and mythological) past and heritage.[138] Some scholars also suggest that Karneios could have been a local deity that was assimilated with Apollo after the so-called Herakleid-Dorian invasion.[139] There was older Spartan contact at Sikyon, Thera, Laconia, and Cyrene, all of which have cultic worship to Apollo Karneios (see Appendix A and Fig. 2.2.c.1).[140]

Malkin suggests an Archaic date for the institution of the Karneia harvest ritual (one of the four major Spartan festivals). The festival has aspects which would have connected the Spartans to the older lifestyle of their ancestors, such as displays of leadership, migration, celebration of plentiful harvest.[141]. One main aspect of the festival

[137] Malkin 1994, 149. Farnell 1902, 128-133.
[138] Older scholars label this heritage as "Dorian" or "Heraklaidian," but, due to controversies surrounding these terms, I avoid them.
[139] Malkin 1994, 150; Farnell 1902, 132.
[140] Malkin 1994, 151. The festival was celebrated on Thera, at Cyrene, and Sparta, most notably. Graff (2009, 120) describes it as Panhellenic.
[141] See Malkin 1994, 151 for his discussion on Archaic associations. See Burkert 1985, 234-236 and Graff 2009, 117-119 for more on the Karneia festival. The Karneia is the festival that preoccupied the Spartans during the Battle of Marathon in 490.

is retreating into the wilderness to live in tents for nine days, showing a connection to nomadic life and shepherding like that of the Spartan ancestors. In addition, Malkin notes that Spartan's preserved many herding terms in their vocabulary for the military and leadership.[142] This idea is connected to the ram being the leader of the herd and is representative of Spartan views of leadership within their community and their political role in Greece.[143] Apollo's connection to shepherding is not uncommon in ancient Panhellenic literature[144] and, as mentioned, the nearby Arcadians worshiped the herding gods Apollo Nomios and Kereatas. In addition, the emphasis on the past in myths about Apollo Karnios and in practice during the Karneia show that the Spartans were trying to preserve their heritage which manifested itself though a theriomorphic figure. Spartans, and their ancestors, saw themselves as leaders and expressed this view though an analogy to a ram. Heritage and identity are explored in Chapter 3.

Images of the god are relatively rare. He appears most frequently on coins, such as on Figure 2.3.c.2 from Cyrene, and even on pottery.[145] Especially significant is a herm of an unknown date with a ram's head on it from Passava near Gythion in Laconia that probably depicts the god (Fig. 2.2.c.3).[146] The ram's head was obviously a recognizable image that was connected with Spartan identity and heritage.

[142] Malkin 1994, 154 credits this preservation in vocabulary to the helots who would have been shepherds for the Spartans.
[143] Aston 2011, 137; Malkin 1994, 14; Graff 2009, 117. e.g., Spartan adolescents ἀγέλαοι ("herds") were organized in groups.
[144] *HH Hermes*; *HH Apollo*; Eur. *Alcestis*, 18: Apollo served as a shepherd to Admetus for seven years in Euripides play Alcestis. See McInerney 2010.
[145] For pottery, see *RE* "Karneios."
[146] Malkin 1994, 153.

2.2.d Zeus Ammon

The final ram god is the syncretic Zeus Ammon. Unlike Apollo Karneios, Zeus Ammon's lineage is easier to piece together, albeit not without challenges. Zeus Ammon's appearance is much like Apollo Karneios', in that he has anthropomorphic form with the addition of two ram's horns on the side of his head. He can be youthful, but most commonly he is depicted as older with Zeus' iconic beard, as exemplified in Figure 2.2.d.1.[147] Otherwise, his iconography is consistent, even into the Roman period and across the Mediterranean. The first images of Zeus Ammon come from coins from Cyrene ca. 520 (Fig. 2.2.d.2) that show his iconic appearance.[148]

The origins of Zeus Ammon can be traced to the Greek colony at Cyrene in Libya, established about 640, first by the Therans and then the Spartans.[149] In the 6th century, Cyrene became a Panhellenic settlement following good advertisement by the Pythian Apollo.[150] Due to this outside influence, Cyrene's original patron god was Apollo Karneios. Yet, Parke (1967) notes that it is likely that the Greeks intermingled and intermarried with the local North African and Egyptian natives who would have been familiar with the famous Oracle of Amun-Ra in the Siwah Oasis about 500 km away.[151] Talk of the most powerful Egyptian god, who is often depicted as ram-headed (Fig. 2.2.d.3), would have undoubtedly spread among the colonists. As the cultures syncretized, it must have become clear that Apollo would not be a good equivalent to

[147] Images of young Zeus Ammon appear most commonly on coins. For his identification on other media, see *LIMC* "Ammon," esp. cat. 7 which may depict Apollo Kereatas or a young Zeus Ammon.
[148] Parke 1967, 200.
[149] Parke 1967, 202.
[150] Malkin 1994, 166.
[151] Malkin 1994, 166.

Amun-Ra, so Zeus Ammon was created.[152] Eventually, Zeus Ammon became the most popular deity on coins from Cyrene.[153] The temple to Zeus Ammon at Cyrene was probably built in the late 6th to early 5th century.[154] During this time, Greco-Egyptian interaction heightened the popularity of Zeus Ammon and his cult moved north throughout Greece.[155]

The first literary source to mention Zeus Ammon is Pindar, who wrote a choric ode in the 5th century about King Arcesilas IV of Cyrene, the city, and Zeus Ammon,[156] and even dedicated a statue to the god at Thebes.[157] By the time Pindar was writing, Zeus Ammon already had connections at Dodona and most certainly at Laconia, especially at Sparta and Gytheion.[158] The cult of Zeus Ammon spread significantly in the later 4th century, following Alexander the Great's visit to Siwah and the oracle's proclamation that he was the son of the god. As shown on Appendix A (and map of his cult sites (Fig. 2.2.d.4)), Zeus Ammon had few temples. Several were in Libya and the others are associated with Laconia's military and political travels (e.g., Lysander's introduction of Zeus Ammon at Aphytis). Otherwise, Zeus Ammon had small shrines within other sanctuaries.

[152] Parke 1967, 200.
[153] Aston 2011, 36.
[154] Parke 1967, 201.
[155] See Parke 1967, 200.
[156] Pind. *Pyth*. 4.14-16;
[157] Pind. *Pyth*. 9.51-53
[158] Parke 1967, 208; 210.

2.3 Bull

2.3.a Acheloos

Acheloos is a Panhellenic river deity (especially connected to the longest river in Greece, the Acheloos in Acarnania), and typically represented as a bull-man hybrid, with the head of a man and the rest of his body usually as a bull.[159] His face had a long, thick beard and short bull horns came out of his head. At first, the association of water and a bull may seem unusual, however, both were respected for their power and raging force. Acheloos was considered the father of numerous nymphs and the sirens. In literature, he first appears in Hesiod during the 7th century, who describes him as the son of Okeanos and Tethys.[160] This is also the same time when the first images of Acheloos appear. The first representations of the god come from Eastern Greek pottery workshops and depict him alone.[161] In the second quarter of the 6th century, the myth of Herakles fighting Acheloos[162] was introduced into Attic black figure pottery and Corinthian workshops soon followed.[163] Figure 2.3.a.1 (a-b) is a typical representation of this scene, in which Herakles battles Acheloos for the hand of Deianira and snaps one of his horns and made it into a horn of plenty.[164] The popularity of this myth as well as the Greek reverence for water and rivers made Acheloos a popular deity all over the Mediterranean, including

[159] Acheloos can appear in different theriomorphic forms. Rarely, he could appear half horse, like a centaur (e.g., a black figure hydria, attributed by the Leagros Group from ca. 510 he is half horse, like a centaur (Fig. 2.3.b.2 below)). He is also commonly depicted with the lower body of a fish-like serpent (e.g., red figure stamnos, signed by the potter Pamphaios and attributed to the painter Oltos, from Attika and dated to ca. 520 (Tsiafakis 2003, 92, fig. 18)). His bull form, however, appears to be the most common.
[160] Hes. *Theog.* 340. Serv. *Georg.* 1.8 says his mother is Gaia.
[161] Tsiafakis 2003, 92.
[162] Ap. 2.7, 5.
[163] Tsiafakis 2003, 92.
[164] It is interesting to note that the back of this stamnos shows Circe and Odyssey's men in a theriomorphic form with animal heads.

Ionia, mainland Greece, Magna Graecia, Sicily, and even Etruria. Acheloos' iconic face was depicted on various types of media as decoration and for apotropaic purposes, such as on amulets.[165] One such example is a bronze statuette of Acheloos from the early 5th century (Fig. 2.3.a.2). Padgett (2003) notes that personifications of rivers as man-headed bulls is an Archaic tradition with possible Near Eastern prototypes.[166] The head of Acheloos is frequently depicted as a mask, like Figure 2.3.a.5, which was designed to sit on cult tables, as protomes, or hang from a wall.[167] Masks are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

As shown in Appendix A (and map (Fig. 2.3.a.3)), sanctuaries to Acheloos have a variety of forms, however there is no evidence for a temple being built in his honor even in the location where the Acheloos River begins as a boundary between Acarnania and Aetolia in northwestern Greece.[168] Instead, he was worshiped as a general river deity either at open air altars,[169] at grottos, or at major sanctuaries of another divinity. One of his most prominent sites of worship was at the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, at which it was recommended to sacrifice to Acheloos.[170] By the 5th century, the most common locations for his shrines were at grottos where he was worshipped alongside the nymphs, Pan, and sometimes others, such as Hermes or Demeter. As shown in Appendix A, these grottos are identified by inscriptions and/or marble votary reliefs to the nymphs.[171] These reliefs have nearly a semi-circular shape with rough outline and interior to mimic a

[165] Larsen 2007, 66. For more images, see *LIMC* "Acheloos."
[166] Padgett 2003b, 334-5.
[167] See again, fig. 2.3.a.3-4.
[168] Larsen 2007, 65. It flows for 130 miles and empties into the Ionian Sea.
[169] e.g., at Megara (Paus. 1.41.2).
[170] Ephorus, *FGrH*. 70 F20.
[171] Discussions about the concentration of these grottos are discussed in Chapter 3. For more on nymph reliefs, see Edwards 1985. For more on caves in Attica, see Wickens 1986.

grotto. The ground line could hold inscriptions of the dedicator. One prime example is Figure 2.3.a.4, which is typical of the style and dates to the 5th century. Here, Acheloos appears on the left-hand side only as a face, where Pan and Hermes guide three Nymphs.

2.3.b Minotaur

The other bull-human hybrid is the iconic Minotaur. He is a mortal lesser mythological being who was famously slayed by Theseus at King Minos' Labyrinth on Crete with the help of Minos' daughter Ariadne. The minotaur is the only hybrid discussed that was born from the union between a human and an animal. Apollodoros describes how the wife of King Minos, Pasiphaë mated with a bull while she was concealed within a hollow wooden cow and ultimately gave birth to the man-bull.[172] The Minotaur might be seen as the opposite of Acheloos in his form, having the face of bull and the body of a man.

In both art and literature, this myth is the only one about the Minotaur. Although the myth first appears in literature in work by Callimachus in the 3rd century, it was undoubtedly much older.[173] The first images of the Minotaur appear in the Geometric period. He can be depicted alone or with other figures and his form can be varied. The first probable image of the Minotaur is an 8th century bronze statuette (Fig. 2.3.b.1) that would have been a decorative element on a studded tripod cauldron. This ex-voto now at the Louvre, which most likely came from Olympia, but of Attic origin, seems to be linked

[172] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13-4; 3:15.7-16.9. Pasiphaë was the daughter of Helios and was driven mad with desire for a bull. Daidalos, the craftsman, helped build her a hollow wooden cow in which she could hide and mate with the bull. The Minotaur's personal name is Asterios. He was confined to the Labyrinth, and every year Minos gathered a tribute of seven male youths and seven maidens from Athens to feed him.
[173] Call., *Hymn 4 to Delos*, 311.

to another statuette of a man that is at the National Museum in Athens.[174] If so, this may be the first representation of Theseus and the Minotaur together in Greek Art.[175] Otherwise, the first definitive examples of this narrative scene appear in the mid-7th century in many types of media.[176] It seems that artists from the Peloponnese and Cyclades, not Attica, introduced this story of the Athenian hero Theseus, for it was not until the 6th century that Athenian potters introduced the myth into their work. The scene reached its peak on Attic Black Figure pottery in the second half of the 6th century and became less frequent on Attic Red Figure vases in the 5th century.[177] Tsiafakis (2003) notes that the slaying of the Minotaur scene often appears in conjunction with other hybrids on numerous examples of extant vases.[178] For instance, the scene appears in miniature on the shoulder of an Attic hydria from about 510, right above the central band showing Herakles wresting a hybrid (Fig. 2.3.b.2).[179] The parallelism of the two scenes shows the reverence for these legendary heroes' triumph over the monsters.

2.4 Snake

2.4.a Kekrops

Despite the popularity of snakes associated with aspects of Greek religion, Kekrops is the only terrestrial snake-human hybrid who received worship. Typically, he has the upper body of a human and the long, coiling lower half of a snake, but he can also

[174] Coldstream 2003, 128, fig. 41b and 41a, respectively.
[175] The first possible image of Theseus (with Ariadne getting on a boat?) is a LG krater in London.
[176] Tsiafakis 2003, 91.
[177] Tsiafakis 2003, 91.
[178] Tsiafakis 2003, 91.
[179] Tsiafakis 2003, 91-92. As mentioned above, Tsiafakis identifies the hybrid in the central panel as Acheloos. She does not credit why she makes this identification, despite the equine-human from of the hybrid. I assume she did not identify it as Nessos because Herakles is grabbing the horn. Perhaps the ancient artist conflated the myths or this is an idiosyncratic image of Acheloos.

be purely human.[180] The first likely image of Kekrops is on a kotyle krater fragment that is attributed to Sophilos from ca. 580.[181] Here, Kekrops is a bearded man (not as a hybrid) holding a king's scepter as his daughter Herse interacts with Hermes.[182] By the early 5th century, the first images of Kekrops with a snake bottom half appears in tandem with the purely human form, like on Figure 2.4.a.1.[183] Clements (2015) notes that the shift in iconography is a deliberate demonstration of ancestor worship and pride for their autochthonic king during the critical period of the Persian Wars.[184]

Also, uniquely, Kekrops is the only hybrid deity that originates from an urban center (Athens) and the only king. Kekrops was a legendary king of Attica, usually the first and founder, although ancient authors do not agree on his chronology or succession.[185] Athenians credited Kekrops with the introduction of core elements of civilized life into their culture. He founded 12 other cities, gave them laws, taught them cultivation of the olive, customs for burying the dead, writing, and marriage.[186] In addition, he introduced a new mode of worship by offering cakes (πελανοί) as a bloodless sacrifice.[187] Kekrops' association with snakes stems from Athens' long history with the serpent. There are numerous myths about Athenian mythological figures who are

[180] See *LIMC "*Kekrops" for more images. He is shown purely human in scenes dealing with other humans, such as when he is in the pursuit of one of his daughters with Hermes, at the punishment of the Kekropids, in pursuit of Oreithya and Cephalos with Eros, in disputes over Attic land, and interactions with Bouzyges and Pylen heroes.
[181] *LIMC* "Kekrops," cat. no. 4 (no image).
[182] Apoll. *Bib*. 3.180-181. Hermes mates with Herse to produce Kephalos.
[183] *LIMC* "Kekrops."
[184] Clements 2015, 69.
[185] Aston 2011, 121; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.1; Thuc. 2.15.1; Paus 1.26.1; Strabo 9.1.18-20; Mitroupolou (1977, 24) also suggests that Kekrops was a native of Egypt who lead a colony to Athens in 1556 BCE but does not source this information.
[186] Mitroupolou 1977, 24; *RE* "Kekrops." The cities he founded include: Kekropia, Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidna(i), Thorikos, Brauron, Kytheros, Sphettos, and Kephisia.
[187] *RE* "Kekrops."

autochthons (those who are born from the earth) and clear worship to Athenian Zeus Meilichios who took the shape of a bearded serpent and was probably syncretic with an early local Attic deity.[188]

Considering Kekrops' influence and origin in Athens, it makes sense that his main sites of cult worship are in Athens. Kekrops seems to have only been worshiped in three locations (see Fig. 2.4.a.2 and Appendix A): two in Athens and one in Boeotia. On the Athenian Acropolis, there were late Archaic and early Classical monuments to Kekrops near the southwestern wall of the Erechtheion, as shown on the plan in Figure 2.4.a.3.[189] The Kekropion is mentioned on three inscriptions: an inscription dealing with religious regulations to the 5th century,[190] a commission report that describes the Caryatid Porch adjoining the Kekropion,[191] and an inscription from 334/3 describing a shrine to Kekrops.[192] Plausible reconstructions for the monuments are highly debated and theoretical. Gerding (2014) suggests there could have been an actual Mycenaean tomb on the acropolis, but all suggest the Kekropion was a freestanding monument.[193] Kekrops' shrine in the agora is alluded to in *IG* II 1276 and Eur. *Ion* 1.1400. Despite the many cities he founded, there is only one attested heroon to Kekrops outside of Athens, which is in Haliartos in Boeotia and remains undiscovered.[194]

[188] Aston 2011, 122. There are also occasional references in literature to snakes being born from the earth and residing in the earth (Hdt. 1.78.3; Arist. *HA* 8 c 15) as well as snakes associated with chthonic deities such as Zeus Meilichios, Asklepios, and Trophonios.
[189] Gerding 2014, 252.
[190] *IG* I 3 4B.10.
[191] *IG* I3 474, 58–59, 62–63, 83–89.
[192] *IG* II2 1156, 34–36. See Gerding 2014, 259 for full literary references to the Kekropion.
[193] Gerding 2014, 262-264.
[194] Paus. 9.33.1; Strab. 9, 407.

2.5 Other Theriomorphic Iconography

In addition to the Greek hybrid gods and mythological beings, there is other theriomorphic iconography found at Greek sanctuaries at Lykosoura, Tegea, and Petrovouni, all of which are in Arcadia.

2.5.a Iconography from Lykosoura

Lykosoura is renowned for having a plethora of theriomorphic iconography compared to other Greek locals. It houses the only sanctuary to Despoina, who is a chthonic goddess associated with animals and nature.[195] Lykosoura is located 40 stades from Megalopolis in the region of the Parrhasia in southwestern Arcadia.[196] According to Pausanias, orgiastic rites took place at the sanctuary, especially at the so-called Megaron, where offerings were made.[197] The building was excavated by Kourouniotes in 1907 and yielded over 140 terracotta theriomorphic figurines (Fig. 2.5.a.1 (a-c)).[198] At ~15 cm tall, they are motionless, wear himations, and have heads of cows or rams. Kourouniotes dates the figurines to the late 4th century BCE with the oldest copies dating to the 1st – 2nd centuries CE.[199] The most widely accepted interpretation is that these figurines are priests or initiates wearing masks partaking in the mysteries.[200]

This theory is strengthened by theriomorphic evidence on a fragment of Despoina's veil from the marble cult statue group by Damophon of Messene (Fig.

[195] Two epigraphs detail religious ordinances at the site: *SEG* CCCVI, 276 and *IG* V^2. 514. For recent scholarship on Lykosoura, see *Ktema* (2008).
[196] Jost 1985, 172. Kantira 2016, 27.
[197] Paus. 8.37.10
[198] See Kourouniotis 1912.
[199] Jost 2008, 101.
[200] Aston 2011, 242.

2.5.a.2).[201] On this fragment alone there are three types of theriomorphic figures: winged females, Nereids, and animal-headed figures, the latter of which is especially relevant here. On the lowest register (detailed in Fig. 2.5.a.3 (a-b)), these animal headed figures wear flowing himations and (possibly) animal masks, and perhaps with their arms and legs covered or prolonged by paws.[202] The disguised musicians include a fox or wolf playing a diaulos, a horse on a trigonon (?), a horse with a zither, and another horse on a diaulos.[203] They appear to be dancing as many hold musical instruments.[204] In addition, the likelihood of initiates and/or priests wearing masks with musical accompaniment during a ceremonial rite is supported by a possible theater at the southern end of the temple next to the side door. It is likely that there were ceremonial rites taking place at the sanctuary and the figurines and reliefs show aspects of the mysteries.[205] The veil fragment also highlights the importance of vegetation and animals with the depiction of olive branches and Nereids (perhaps an allusion to her father Poseidon Hippios), so it makes sense to depict a type of transformation.

2.5.b Figurine(s) Tegea

Another identifiable theriomorphic figurine from Arcadia was found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. As shown in Figure 2.5.b.1, this bronze figurine dates to the 8th century and appears to be a bear-human hybrid. Since the craftsmanship is not detailed, identification can be difficult. Yet, the face has a long snout and small ears

[201]For information about the dating the work by Damophon of Messene, see Melfi 2016.
[202] Jost 2008, 101. c.f., Aston (2011, 243) does not see animal attributes on the limbs.
[203] See Mahoney 2017, 45 for connections to possible wolf iconography at Lykosoura and Mt. Lykaion.
[204] Marcadé and Lévy 1972, 123; Jost 2008, 119-120.
[205] Jost 2008, 101; Jost 1985, 265. c.f., Aston 2011, 243 suggests that the veil cannot be used to justify an interpretation for the terracotta figurines as part of a ceremonial rite, even if it is likely that it happened.

which most closely resembles a bear.[206] The positioning of the bent knees and long, curving arms suggest that the body is human, although there is no defined musculature. Two other figurines from Tegea and the surrounding area may also have theriomorphic attributes (perhaps bear or even monkey), although it is more difficult to tell than the bear-hybrid. Figure 2.5.b.2 has a long snout and ears (albeit they are lower down), but may be an abstract human or monkey. The same is for Figure 2.5.b.3 whose ears are a bit higher, but he hides his face.[207] Both appear to be sitting on a pedestal. There are other examples of this type of figurine, from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Eretria, and near Olympia. Scholars remain divided on their interpretation. [208]

Typically bears are associated with Artemis, such as at the sanctuary of Brauron and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Yet, bears also make sense at this prominent sanctuary to Athena Alea in Tegea. In myth, Atalanta, who was born in Tegea, discussed an episode of a bear being nurse to a human child.[209] She is present on the East pediment of the temple partaking in the Kalydonian boar hunt.[210] In addition, the figurine could also refer to Kallisto, the Arcadian nymph who was transformed into a constellation of a bear.[211] This figurine may represent a local transformation myth. This idea is supported further, considering "Arcadians" most likely means "bear-men."

[206] Voyatzis 1990, 304.
[207] This figure is from the sanctuary of Artemis at Mavriki, which is further south.
[208] Voyatzis 1990, 303; 305 identifies both as human. Karagoeorghis (1996, 16-19) has a section on bear/monkey Archaic coroplastic figurines on Cyprus, emphasizing the similarities of these species and the difficulties at identification. Langdon (1990) suggests that they are simian (ape-like) and deemed from Egyptian iconography.
[209] Paus. 3.24.2; This episode also shows a connection between Artemis as a goddess of childrearing and young women and bears at Brauron and Sparta.
[210] Bevan 1986, 23-24.
[211] Bevan 1986, 24.

2.5.c. Figurine from Petrovouni/ Methydrion

The bronze group of four Geometric ithyphallic figures on a rectangular base (Fig. 2.5.c.1 (a-b)) from Petrovouni in Arcadia also has theriomorphic attributes. This relatively early figurine, which dates to the 8th century, makes identifying the species rather difficult. Aston (2011), following Herbig (1949) and Brommer (*RE*), identifies the figures as goats and as the first image of a proto-Pan.[212] Voyatzis (1985), more aptly, identifies them as humans with horse heads.[213] The heads have no indication of goat horns or a billy-goat beard. Instead, they have long faces with small ears, like a horse. In addition, Petrovouni, which is located two or three km west of Methydrion, is the likely location for the famous sanctuary to Poseidon Hippios that is described by Pausanias.[214] As discussed, Poseidon transformed into a horse to mate with Demeter and the cult to Poseidon Hippios is especially popular in Arcadia.[215] It is plausible that the figurine represents men wearing animal masks.[216]

Conclusions

This chapter has examined 13 terrestrial theriomorphic beings and iconographical figures from the Greek historic period. We looked at their origins in myth, diachronic iconographical representations, and evidence for cult worship. In the following Chapter 3,

[212] Aston 2011, 115; Herbig 1949, 51-53; *RE* "Pan."
[213] Voyatzis 1990, 282.
[214] Paus. 8.36.2; Voyatzis 1990, 45-46; Jost 1985, 215-216; Gallou 2008, 93. Although Petrovouni is located outside the walls of Methydrion, Pausanias' description of the sanctuary is a close match to Petrovouni.
[215] See Mylonopoulos 2003 for more information on Poseidon Hippios.
[216] Voyatzis 1990, 282.

this evidence, data from Appendix A, and supplemental evidence are synthesized to reconstruct possible origins, trends, and significances of terrestrial theriomorphism.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In Chapter 2, I presented the various types of evidence for Greek terrestrial theriomorphic hybrids. This chapter analyzes and discusses this data and attempts to identify trends of terrestrial theriomorphism and highlight its role in Greek culture and religion. It is organized into four major sections concerning time, location, iconography, and overall themes. Many of the elements discussed tend to overlap, but the sections were created for as much clarity and accessibility as possible. The evidence from these sections shows the fluid yet complicated nature of theriomorphism. We see that theriomorphism has dual and liminal aspects, is a means of representing identity, and reveals a close, yet complex relationship with animals and nature that begins well before Greek religion is crystallized.

3.1 Terrestrial Theriomorphism and Time

This section examines the origins of terrestrial theriomorphism in time. It utilizes supplemental evidence from the Bronze Age and synthesizes data from Chapter 2, which is primarily from the historical period. This process shows the significance of determining possible origins and influences of terrestrial theriomorphism in time and reveals a desire of later Greeks to connect with the past.

3.1.a. Bronze Age Connections

The concept of continuity of cult (i.e., Bronze Age evidence for cult that survives through the EIA and into the Archaic period) in general continues to be a debated topic in Greek archaeology. Yet, Aston (2011) does not discuss continuity of cult in detail as a possible origin or influence on later Greek religion and culture. This may be because her

book focuses on historic Greek religion, so she chose not to include Minoan and Mycenaean religions; she is a philologist by training; and Bronze Age theriomorphism tends to be overlooked in scholarship. Instead, I provide archaeological evidence for terrestrial theriomorphic beings from the Bronze Age to show that animal and animal-human hybridity was a significant part of Minoan and Mycenaean culture, religion, and identity. An appreciation of developments in the Bronze Age serves to help us understand later Greek religion and culture.[217]

Theriomorphic Iconography

It is outside the scope of this thesis to provide a full catalog of hybrid iconography (of theriomorphic beings and monsters) from the Bronze Age Aegean. Yet, an overview of the material shows a deep-rooted connection to both real and fantastic animals in Minoan and Mycenaean religions as well as connections to hybridity and identity, especially on seals.

Seals can be made of ivory, bone, metal, or stone and impressions of these in clay are called nodules. Theriomorphic seals appear as early as the EM period, primarily EMI-II, but are rare.[218] Yet, these are different in shape to those of the later Bronze Age. Figures 3.1.a.1(a-b) are examples of theriomorphic EM seals, which depict a seated monkey-human from Ayia Triada Tholos A (*CMS* II1.20) and bird-human from Lebena Tholos IIa (*CMS* II1.216). The stamping portion is on the bottom of the figures, of which

[217] Instances of theriomorphism from the Neolithic period are discussed below. My analysis has only scratched the surface for evidence from the Bronze Age; a more detailed analysis is in need.
[218] Anderson 2016, 75. EM dates are based on context and stylistic comparisons. A few seals from secure Prepalatial deposits also have Egyptianizing motifs, suggesting that foreign prototypes were circulating on Crete during this phase (e.g., *CMS* II1.2.12).

there are holes on the heads for inserting a string. There is limited evidence of sphragistics from these types of seals, suggesting that early Prepalatial theriomorphic seals were primarily worn on the body.[219] In addition, there does not appear to be a particular level of social organization or systematization of one seal over another.[220] Thus, the decorated makeup of the seal and position as an adornment on the human body suggests that the entire seal was an indication of social identity and differentiation, even if no hierarchy existed.[221] This EBA evidence shows that, like later theriomorphic deities in Greek religion, theriomorphism was used as a means of expressing identity.

Minoan seals continue through the MM and LM periods, most notably from MMIIIB phase of the Temple repositories through LM phases at Knossos,[222] MMIIB Phaistos,[223] and LMIB Zakro.[224] An influx of theriomorphic iconography comes during the LBA on Crete in LMIB/LMII under Mycenaean influence as well as the Argolid during the LH period. These seals become more simplistic in terms of overall shape and can be round-faced, cylinder, leaf-shaped, or other. By the MM period, they could be used in the so-called Multiple Sealing System, in which seals of two or three different ones could be combined in regular or meaningful combinations onto clay as part of an

[219] Anderson 2016, 78.
[220] See Anderson 2016, 78 for discussion on different opinions of Minoan social hierarchy.
[221] Anderson 2016, 78.
[222] For more on seals form Knossos, see Gill 1965, Weingarten 1992, and Anderson 2016. The temple repositories are two covered cists sunk into the floor of the later Tripartite Shrine on the west edge of the Central Court. The cists likely held the sweepings of a LMIA destruction phase. Some 75 nodules were discovered there. Sealings were also found in the SW Basements and Room of the Clay Seals and Painted Frescos.
[223] For more on seals from Phaistos, see Weingarten 1992, and Anderson 2016. Some 15 nodules were discovered.
[224] For more on seals from Zakro, see Hogarth 1902, Weingarten 1992, and Anderson 2016. The sealings were found in a closed, but not sealed, deposit in House A (a Cyclopean building north of the palace of Zakro). Some 525 clay nodules were discovered.

administrative symbolic system.[225] Seals are still associated with representing identity and symbolisms.

While there are countless monsters and animals engraved on these seals and nodules, from my research there appears to be at least 10 terrestrial animal human-hybrid types represented.[226] Many have wings, but I include them here to emphasize the numerous instances that theriomorphism is taking place. These include: a man with a goat's head and wings instead of arms;[227] a woman with a bird's head and wings instead of arms;[228] a woman with a bull's head, wings, and a fan-tail;[229] a man with a horned bull's head, bovine hears and tail;[230] quadruped with human head;[231] a man with human legs and upper part of a goat and bull;[232] man-boars;[233] man-goats;[234] man-bulls; and man-stags. The latter two are significant and invite further discussion. The most famous man-bull from Crete is what Sir Arthur Evans dubbed the "Minotaur seal" (Fig. 3.1.a.2) from the MMIII so-called "Room of the Clay Seals and Painted Frescos" at Knossos.[235] Here, a figure is dressed in a sort of armor, has an unusual animal head, and faces what is probably a seated Minoan Genius (a fantastical, theriomorphic creature that is common on Crete and discussed in detail below). Between them is a tree. The combination of religious iconography of the tree (which is sacred to the Minoans), the Minoan Genius,

[225] For more on the Multiple Sealing System, see Weignarten 1992.
[226] Variants of later recognizable monsters appear, such as the butterfly sphinx, minotaur, and sirens as well as other winged hybrids.
[227] Hogarth 1902, 80, fig. 12.
[228] Hogarth, 1902, 79, fig. 8.
[229] Evans 1902, 133, fig. 45.
[230] Hogarth, 1902, pl. VI, 17 and 18.
[231] See *Museo di ant. class.*, II, 1888, pl. XIV, 8. This is from Patso Cave.
[232] Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. II, 41.
[233] See *BSA* 11: 18, fig. 10. This is a bead seal found at the Western entrance at Knossos.
[234] See *BSA* 8: 77. These are seal impressions from Knossos in the Room of the Archives. Many more hybrids were found here.
[235] Evans 1902, 18. See Reich 1970, who suggests an early MMIII date for the room.

and a bull, was proof to Evans of a Minoan bull-cult to the Minotaur.[236] I do not see a Minotaur on this seal, but it is still unique for this study. This seal may be one of the first extant instances in which a theriomorphic being is connected with other religious iconography. In addition, there are two LMII gem seals from Knossos (Fig. 3.1.a.3 (a-b)), which resemble later depictions of the Minotaur, that may have had religious associations.[237] The hybrids have abstract deer hooves for hands, human legs and torso, and deer heads with elaborate antlers. On the back of Figure 3.1.a.3 (b), there is a set of horns of consecration with a branch between them. Nilsson suggests that this creature could have "haunted the sacred places as a servant deity whose cult is indicated by the sacral horns and the head of a sacrificial animal."[238] His conclusion is fanciful; there is no other iconography present to identify the hybrid as a servant or symbol for sacrifice.[239] Yet, the horns of consecration are likely a religious symbol, and at the very least, are a symbol of identity to the Minoans and later Mycenaeans. Religious or not, the hybrids seem to have a significance. Like the EM theriomorphic seal adornments, seals were most commonly worn on the body. In the MM and LM periods they were worn as signet rings or on the left wrist.[240] Seals are undoubtedly connected with personal and administrative identity in Bronze Age Crete, and the fact that theriomorphic beings could be representative of personal, administrative, and perhaps religious iconography is

[236] Nilsson 1971, 35.
[237] Nilsson 1971, 375; Evans (1902, 135) simply mentions the gems are from a Mycenaean phase.
[238] Nilsson 1971, 375.
[239] Nilsson's assertion about animal sacrifice is problematic. The Minoans generally did not perform animal sacrifice. The only possible evidence for Minoan animal sacrifice comes from Juktas, Psychro Cave, and Kato Syme. The Mycenaeans did introduce animal sacrifice to Crete in the LM period, but there is no evidence here to suggest a relationship to animal sacrifice on this seal.
[240] See Anderson 2016, n. 2. For example, a skeleton of an adult male was found in a late Protopalatial destruction deposit at Anesnospilia with a seal still on his left wrist and a male figure in the LM "Procession Fresco" from Knossos also likely shows a seal on the left wrist.

important in showing an early and complex relationship to animals. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 2, there is also a gem seal with a centaur on it from Prosymna from a burial (Fig. 2.1.a.5), suggesting that this practice extended into the LH Argolid.

Although some of these seals are associated with religious iconography, it is unlikely that these theriomorphic beings and monsters were worshiped as deities.[241] This assertion is based on studies of Mycenaean animal worship from Linear B evidence. Animals seem to be an important part of religion, especially to the Mycenaeans, and could receive offerings as sacred animals, but they were not worshiped. According to some Linear B evidence, animals were among the recipients of various offerings, sometimes with the same substance to specific species on multiple occasions.[242] These animals include mules, dogs, snakes, geese, horses, cranes, and pigs. The words for the animals occur in the dative, noting that they are recipients, and many are accompanied by a term that indicates a toponym or person with religious connotations.[243] Rousioti (2000) suggests that these were likely sacred animals associated with divinities at cult places that had financial support from central administrations, but not deities themselves.[244] Overall, this analysis shows that these Bronze Age seals and animal (hybrid) iconography were a significant part of Minoan and Mycenaean cultures and identities, but the extent the figures played in religious matters remains uncertain. Nevertheless, their existence shows a basic connection to later Greek culture.

[241] c.f., Palmer 1983, 204.
[242] See Rousioti 2000. The most significant Linear B documents is a group of at least 30 tablets from Thebes.
[243] Rousioti 2000, 307-308.
[244] Rousioti 2000, 311.

Minoan Genius

As noted, the Minoan Genius is another animal-human hybrid that appears in both Minoan and later Mycenaean art and religious iconography. The figure is important in showing Aegean relations with the Near East and adoption/adaption of hybridity into their lore and iconographical language starting in the MBA. As shown on a signet ring from Tiryns (Fig. 3.1.a.4), these Genii appear as multiples, can take numerous variations in forms,[245] and have a noticeable evolution in the LBA. Generally in Minoan art they have the head of a wolf, lion, or dog, an insectoid body, and stand upright typically holding a beak-spouted jug.[246] Their form dances on the lines of what constitutes a monster with human characteristics or a theriomorphic being, but it is important to include them in this discussion. The Minoan Genius is often described as fantastic, demonic, or monstrous creatures in scholarship, but it is currently considered to be a minor or semi-divine religious figure.[247] The Genii take on new roles in LMIA-B, perhaps reflecting the reorganization and increasing centralization and complexity of Neopalatial society by depicting more organized religious practices.[248] This continues into the Mycenaean period in LH iconography where they are attendants to both male and female figures of power and associated with libation pouring, sacrifice, and hunting.[249] Especially relevant is a fragment of a fresco from Mycenae (Fig. 3.1.b.5) that depicts three Genii who have human bodies adorned in robes and donkey heads.[250] On the

[245] See Blakolmer 2015 for evolution of forms.
[246] Kuch 2017, 44.
[247] See Blakolmer 2015, 29. M.A.V. Gill (1965 and 1970) plus Rehak (1995) catalogue nearly 80 Minoan Genii.
[248] Rehak 1995, 215.
[249] See Rehak 1995 for aspects of the Minoan Genius' divine character.
[250] c.f., Nilsson 1971, 371 suggests that the association with the donkey is "arbitrary" and that their skin is colored.

mainland, Genii are found exclusively in the Argolid in graves and cultic contexts, perhaps showing a direct correlation between the area and Knossos. The Genii are derived from the Egyptian god Twaeret and demonstrate cultural exchange in a larger Mediterranean network. There was a transfer of these motifs and associations into Minoan and Mycenaean religions.[251] It seems that Genii move from Egypt, to Crete, and then the Argolid.

This brief discussion of Bronze Age theriomorphism redefines our concept of Greek culture and religion. In respect to the latter, attendants (multiples of a lesser divine species in consort with primary god), animal-human hybrids, and masks, which are discussed below, exist in both Bronze Age and later Greek religions. There is not enough evidence to support religious continuity, but I would posit there are elements of cultural continuity, the extent of which is examined below. Theriomorphism did exist before the "collapse" at the end of the Bronze Age and shows that hybridism and transformation were not foreign to the Aegean, which was undoubtedly influenced by the surrounding cultures.

3.1.b. Origins of Terrestrial Hybrids in Greece

Synthesizing the data from Chapter 2 and Appendix A helps elucidate on the extent of continuity from the LBA into the EIA for specific hybrids. As noted, there are some familiar instances of terrestrial hybrids from the Bronze Age (i.e., centaur, man-bull, man-goat), but I suggest that only the centaur, and perhaps Apollo Kereatas, survived into the EIA. There are three general possibilities for the chronological origins

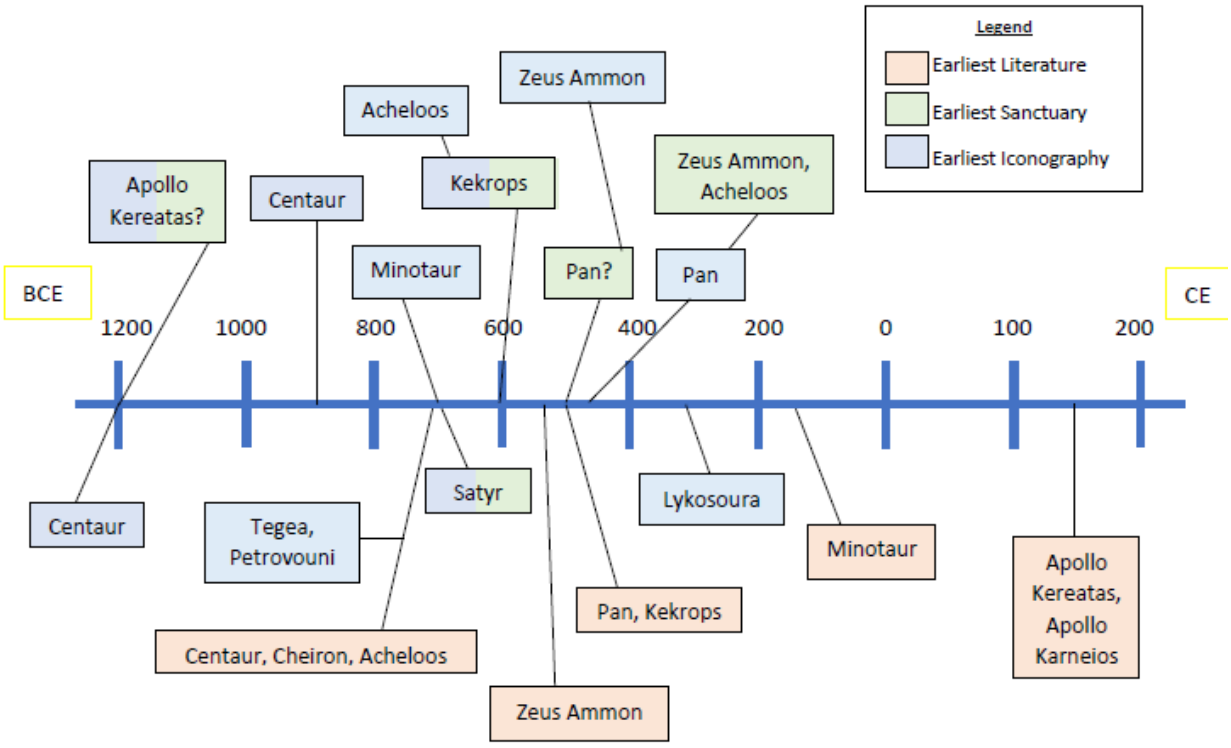
[251] Younger and Rehak 2008, 168. For more on the Egyptian god Twaeret, see Kuch 2017.

of the other hybrids: 1) they were also continuously recognized but have not yet revealed evidence, 2) they were (re)introduced in the 8th century when Eastern elements started to appear in larger numbers, just prior to the beginning of the Orientalizing period, or 3) they were introduced in later centuries, showing continued or renewed interest in theriomorphism. Table 2 below is a list of the earliest evidence for each hybrid in terms of literary references, evidence of cultic worship at a sanctuary (if relevant), and iconography. Following is Chart 2 which is a visual representation of this data.

Table 2. Earliest evidence for terrestrial animal-human hybrids.

Hybrid / Earliest Evidence	**Earliest Date for Literary Evidence**	**Earliest Archaeological Evidence for Sanctuary to a Deity**	**Earliest Date for Iconography**
Centaur (12th century)	**8th century** Homer	X	**12th century** Figurines from Ugarit (Figs. 2.1.a.2-3) / Seal from Prosymna (Fig. 2.1.a.5)
Cheiron (10th century)	**8th century** Homer	**7th century** Thera	**10th century** Centaur from Lefkandi (Euobea)? (Fig. 2.1.a.6)
Demeter Melaina (?)	**2nd century CE** Pausanias	**?** Phigalia (Arcadia)	**?** Phigalia, Arcadia
Satyr (7th century)	**6th century** *Catalogue of Women*	X	**7th century** Proto-satyr on Protoattic pottery (Fig. 2.1.d.1)
Pan (6th century)	**6th century** *Pindar*	**6th century** Berkela (Arcadia)	**5th century** Figurine from Arcadia (Fig. 2.2.a.2)
Apollo Kereatas (12th century?)	**2nd century CE** Pausanias	**12th century?** Enkomi (Cyprus)	**12th century?** Bronze Horned God? from Enkomi (Cyprus) (Fig. 2.2.b.2)
Apollo Karneios (?)	**2nd century CE** Pausanias?	**?** Laconia	**?** Laconia?
Zeus Ammon (6th century)	**Late 6th and early 5th century** Pindar	**Late 6th and early 5th century** Cyrene (Libya)	**6th century** Coin from Cyrene (Libya) (Fig. 2.2.d.2)
Acheloos (8th century)	**8th century** Hesiod	**5th century** Akarnania?	**7th century** Akarnania
Minotaur (8th century?)	**3rd century** Callimachus	X	**8th century?** Bronze Minotaur from Attica (Fig. 2.3.b.1)
Kekrops (7th century)	**5th century** Herodotus	**7th century** Athens	**7th century** Attica
Iconography from Lykosoura	X	X	**4th century**
Bear Figurine from Tegea	X	X	**7th century**
Figurine from Petrovouni	X	X	**8th century**

Chart 2. Timeline of earliest evidence for terrestrial animal-human hybrids (by author).



This data shows that the centaur, and perhaps Apollo Kereatas, (could) have 12th century origins, because both arguably appear in the Bronze Age. Yet, only the centaur has possible continuity. There is the 12th century seal from Prosymna (Fig. 2.1.a.5) and figurines from Ugarit (Figs. 2.1.a.2-3), the 10th century centaur (Cheiron?) from Lefkandi (Fig. 2.1.a.6), and the 8th century centaur group from Attica (Fig. 2.1.a.7). Proving continuity for Apollo Kereatas is difficult and depends on more evidence to prove his presence at Enkomi. Both Demeter Melaina and Apollo Karneios have old origins in myth and attested literary evidence, but this is not sufficient evidence to support Bronze Age inception.[252]

[252] Likewise, is the case for the possible Proto-Indo-European etymological origins for Pan.

Most of the Greek theriomorphic beings first appear in the Archaic period. Cheiron (unless he is the 10th century centaur at Lefkandi), Acheloos, satyrs, and the figurine Petrovouni appear in the 8th century, the figurine from Tegea and Kekrops in the 7th century, and Pan in the 6th century. Yet, theriomorphic beings persist into Roman times. It is important to note, however, that many of these beings are connected with the past (a topic which is explored more below). This is especially true for the Archaic myths. Homer's poems often conflate the contemporary 8th century with the Mycenaean age of the heroes.[253] Continued reverence for these theriomorphic beings shows that the ancient Greeks were interested in maintaining their heritage.

In conclusion, analyzing theriomorphic evidence from the Bronze Age shows that people in the Greek world were contemplating and exploring the relationship and complexities between humans, animals, and nature long before Greek religion had become standardized in the historic period. Bronze Age theriomorphism was not rare, as implied in past scholarship, and it appears in many human-animal combinations. Minoans and Mycenaeans were influenced by Egyptian and the Near East in this matter, the extent of which is examined in the next section. This evidence indicates that in the historical period, Greek peoples continued to have theriomorphic beings in their lore and religion. The significance of this preservation and other conclusions are discussed in the next section.

[253] Mahoney 2016, 34.

3.2 Terrestrial Theriomorphism and Location

Since the most substantial evidence of theriomorphic beings comes from religious contexts, I devote special attention to them here. This section analyzes the cult sites of the eight hybrid deities from Appendix A in two parts, which focuses on concentrations and connections in place. As discussed in Chapter 1, the evidence for the cult centers is taken from literary, archaeological, and numismatic evidence. All aspects are significant in tying a particular location to a deity to show trends in distribution, cultural interaction, and identity.

3.2.a Concentrations

The concentrations of terrestrial theriomorphism in Greece reveal that these hybrids have a unique relationship to specific animals, landscapes, and varying ways of life. This relationship demonstrates how hybridity is a means of expressing local identity that connects both time and place. Figures 3.2.a.2 and 3.2.a.3 (accompanied by Fig. 3.2.a.1 which is the map legend) are maps of all terrestrial theriomorphic gods in the ancient Mediterranean and in Greece, respectively. Already one can see concentrations in the Peloponnese and Attica. Yet, it is necessary to iron out the details of these concentrations. Table 3 below shows the dispersion of these deities in Greek and Greek influenced regions in the Mediterranean. It indicates general instances of influence.

Table 3. Dispersion of terrestrial animal-human hybrid deities in regions of Mediterranean.

Aeolis	**1**
Zeus Ammon	1
Acarnania	**2**
Pan	1
Acheloos	1
Anatolia	**3**
Pan	2
Acheloos	1
Apollo Karneios	1
Andros	**1**
Acheloos	1
Argolid	**2**
Pan	1
Apollo Karneios	1
Arcadia	**24**
Demeter Melaina	2
Pan	16
Apollo Kereatas	2
Apollo Karneios	2
Zeus Ammon	1
Acheloos	1
Attica	**26**
Pan	13
Zeus Ammon	2
Acheloos	9
Kekrops	2
Boeotia	**4**
Pan	1
Zeus Ammon	1
Acheloos	1
Kekrops	1
Bruttium	**1**
Acheloos	1
Campania	**-**
Acheloos	(num erous)
Chalcidice	**2**
Zeus Ammon	2
Corinthia	**2**
Pan	1
Apollo Karneios	1
Crete	**2**
Zeus Ammon	2
Cyclades	**5**
Cheiron	1
Pan	1
Apollo Karneios	1
Acheloos	2
Cyprus	**2**
Apollo Kereatas	2
Dodecanese	**5**
Pan	2
Apollo Karneios	2
Acheloos	1
Egypt	**1**
Pan	1
Elis	**1**
Pan	1
Epirus	**2**
Zeus Ammon	1
Acheloos	1
Euboea	**1**
Acheloos	1
Illyria	**1**
Pan	1
Ionia	**4**
Pan	2
Acheloos	2
Ionian Islands	**2**
Pan	1
Zeus Ammon	1
Laconia*	**10**
Pan	1
Apollo Karneios	7
Zeus Ammon	2
Libya	**3+**
Apollo Karneios	1
Zeus Ammon	(num erous)
Acheloos	2
Macedonia	**4**
Pan	3
Cheiron	1
Magna Graecia	**7**
Pan	3
Cheiron	1
Apollo Karneios	1
Zeus Ammon	1
Acheloos	1
Messenia	**3**
Pan	1
Apollo Karneios	2
Mysia	**1**
Acheloos	1
Palestine	**1**
Pan	1
Phyrgia	**1**
Zeus Ammon	1
Phocis	**1**
Zeus Ammon	1
Pontus area	**2**
Pan	2
Sicily	**3+**
Pan	1
Zeus Ammon	1
Acheloos	(num erous)
Thasos	**1**
Pan	1
Thrace	**3**
Cheiron	1
Pan	1
Zeus Ammon	1
Thessaly	**5**
Cheiron	3
Pan	1
Acheloos	1
Troade	**1**
Zeus Ammon	1

Of these regions, Attica (26), Arcadia (24), Laconia (10), and Greek Italian territories have the most individual (possible) cult sites to the hybrids discussed.[254] In addition, Arcadia (6), Greek Italian territories, Attica (4) and Boeotia (4) have the greatest numbers of deities represented. All terrestrial theriomorphic hybrid beings and other iconography originate from the following regions:

- **Acarnania**: Acheloos
- **Arcadia**: Pan, Apollo Kereatas, Demeter Melaina, centaurs, Silenos, iconography from Lykosoura, figurine(s) from Tegea, figurine from Petrovouni
- **Attica**: Kekrops
- **Cyrene (Libya)**: Zeus Ammon
- **Laconia**: Apollo Karneios
- **Thessaly**: Cheiron, centaurs

These Greek regional data reveal that theriomorphism is concentrated in both characteristically rural territories (Acarnania, Arcadia, Laconia, Thessaly) as well as urban centers with high volumes of cultural interaction (Attica, Cyrene, and parts of Laconia). Below, I analyze the significance of these concentrations, paying particular attention to Arcadia because of the large number of examples of hybrid beings known from this region.

Arcadia

The popularity of theriomorphism in Arcadia merits discussion of the significance and the extent that this phenomenon occurs. Aston (2011) provides substantial discussions about Arcadia and the region's connection to all types of theriomorphism. She titles the section on Arcadia "The Fallacy of Arcadia" where she examines archaeological evidence and Pausanias' accounts to reconsider long held notions that the

[254] As mentioned in Chapter 1, I do not include numerical data for Magna Graecia, Italy, and Sicily because no hybrids originate from there and they are Greek colonies. Precise numbers would askew my objective to show concentrations in mainland Greece.

region was part of a cultural vacuum which preserved primitive religious aspects, including theriomorphism.[255] In terms of religious iconography, she ultimately determines that hybridity was "by no means clearly visible," on account of the "lack of evidence" from the region.[256] She argues that no theriomorphic cult statues exist today, except for Pan, and what does survive are small votives and decorative elements, such as protomes. Pausanias' description of an ancient xoanon to Demeter Melaina is debated and there are no identifiable images of Apollo Kereatas. These theriomorphic forms are clouded by secrecy and often in settings that are considerably late, like Lykosoura and Megalopolis that were instituted in the 4th century.[257]

Her points are valid and vital for a progressive view of Arcadia and discontinuation of the notion of "primitive religions." Yet, the research from this thesis (especially from Appendix A) shows that the region is more complicated; theriomorphism did remain part of Arcadian identity and provide a connection with the past and the landscape. Categorizing Arcadia as a "fallacy" can be misleading. The region has a clear connection to animals and hybridity, especially concerning the origins of theriomorphic deities. Modern historians of the region note this concentration of theriomorphism, most notably Jost (1985, 2007), especially in the southwestern region (Fig. 3.2.a.5). As noted above, there are 10 terrestrial animal-human hybrids that originate from Arcadia based on archaeological or literary evidence. This is significantly more than any other region and is strengthened by connections to Poseidon Hippios, the mermaid (fish-human) goddess Eurynome, and Sirens. Although not much evidence

[255] Aston 2011, 235-251.
[256] Aston 2011, 244.
[257] Aston 2011, 250.

survives, the extant evidence is still more than any other region and continues into later periods.

The layout and landscape of Arcadia reveal the close connections between theriomorphism, especially of deities, and the region. In ancient times, Arcadia was mostly landlocked (except when it laid claim to Triphylia and Kynouria)[258] already revealing its affinity with terrestrial hybrids. The landscape is made of mountains[259] and fertile valleys which provide concentrations of communities and religious activity.[260] Many rivers and streams flow throughout the region.[261] Major thoroughfares weave between the mountains and plains for traveling to/from surrounding regions and in/out of the Peloponnese through the Corinthia. The high volume of routes, wealthy votives at sanctuaries, the region's political involvement, and up-to-date architectural endeavors show that Arcadia was not an isolated region, as previously thought.[262]

Arcadians, especially those in the southwestern parts, are also known for having a pastoralist lifestyle because of the mountainous landscape, possibly showing an old tradition and relationship with animals. Parker (2008) posits that ovicaprids (sheep and goats) likely became a feature of this landscape since their introduction in the seventh

[258] Jost 1994, 216
[259] Jost 1994, 218. The mountains have divine and mythic associations and are a means of protection from enemies. The major mountains include: Taygetos which borders with Laconia, Kyllini, Chelmos, Erymanthos, and Panachaikon that border with Achaea, Manailon and Artemisio that border with Argolid, and Parnon and Mt. Lykaion.
[260] The basins, located mainly in northeastern, southeastern, and southern Arcadia, are more fertile and can support a wider range of crops.
[261] The major rivers include the Lousios, Alfios, Erymanatos, Eurotos, and Neda. Rivers act as borders with the other regions and are sacred for the water they give communities and sanctuaries. The rivers and their subsidiary streams provide water for agricultural production, most notably in higher altitudes that are ideal for transhumance (Nielsen 2002b, 291).
[262] Nielsen 2002a, 415; Jost 2007, 265. For more on votives, see Hübinger 1992.

millennium.[263] The role of pastoralism has been long debated in scholarship, some arguing for an agro-pastoralist model (i.e., having a lifestyle that is a mixture of agriculture and livestock herding) that took place in one location and others for long-distance transhumance during summer and winter seasons.[264] Roy (2009) and Howe (2008) demonstrate that both were a vital part of Arcadia's economy.[265] Nevertheless, pastoralism influenced the prolific associations with goats and sheep. An analysis of pastoralism in the region shows that religion and pastoralism were associated together from the Bronze Age, based on evidence from Linear B tablets.[266] Of special significance is a place called **Lukohagreus* that is mentioned in a tablet at Pylos and etymologically closely parallels the area around Mt. Lykaion.[267] Typically places named in this manner were used as areas for grazing herds. Mahoney (2016) convincingly suggests that **Lukohagreus* translates to "uncultivated area of light."[268] Mahoney's hypothesis is based on the Indo-European language family in which the root **leuk*- means "to shine or light."[269] The prevalence of this root in place names especially in southwestern Arcadia, northern Messenia, and Triphylia (to which Mahoney identifies nine locations) suggests that from an early date the "*lyk*" root was shared by this mountainous region.[270] In addition, the *-hagreus* ending could denote locations of open-air sanctuaries.[271] This etymological evidence and the contexts of the Pylian tablets reveal connections between

[263] Parker 2008, 133.
[264] Mahoney 2016, 233. For more on pastoralism in Arcadia, see Howe 2008 and Roy 2009.
[265] Roy 1999, 349-356; Howe 2008, 73-74. As noted in Chapter 2, the votives from the Archaic sanctuary at Berkela were dedicated by relatively wealthy pastoralists, from Arcadia and northern Messenia.
[266] Mahoney 2016, 101.
[267] Mahoney 2016, 104-5. For more on Mt. Lykaion, see Romano and Voyatzis (2010, 2014, 2015).
[268] See Mahoney 2016, 108, n. 312 for more discussion about this translation.
[269] Mahoney 2016, 127.
[270] Mahoney 2016, 108. These locations include, Lykountes, Lykouria, Lykoa/Lykaia, Lykoa, Artemis Lykoatis, Lykosoura, the Oak-Wood of Lykos, Zeus L(e)ukaios and Tomb of Lykourgos.
[271] Mahoney 2016, 111.

**Lukoagreus* and the area near Mt. Lykaion. The tablets mention that the area specifically had 12 bronze smiths that worked for the palatial administration system and is situated in a place utilized by shepherds near the river Neda.[272] The closest approximation for the location of **Lukoagreus* is generally in southwestern Arcadia, near the river Neda.[273] The open-air altar to Zeus Lykaios at Mt. Lykaion is also located relatively near the Neda. The evidence for continuous religious activity from the Mycenaean period at the altar, especially the sacrifice of ovicaprids, supports this hypothesis that connections between pastoralism, religion, and identity could have existed since the Bronze Age in Arcadia.

Identity

As this case study on Arcadia shows, terrestrial theriomorphic beings are twofold: generally, theriomorphism is a means of expressing human connection to nature and animals, and it may also serve to express local identity, especially in religious contexts. The rural settings, namely in large parts of Arcadia (and Thessaly), account for the creation of a majority of the theriomorphic figures as well as total sites of worship. Depictions of and myths about theriomorphism allow inhabitants to connect to their own specific animals and landscapes and defines who they are. A prime example of this is shown on an Arcadian League coin (ca. 360) (Fig. 2.2.a.8), in which Pan is representative of Arcadian identity.

Yet, this begs the question: why is there so much apparent evidence for theriomorphism in Arcadia? Although Arcadia was not completely "isolated" or "primitive," the area is more relatively remote and rural than most other Greek regions. I posit that the ancient region's long-held connection with nature and animals became part

[272] Mahoney 2016, 105.
[273] Mahoney 2016, 107.

of its identity from an early period due to the landscape, and was manifested and preserved through theriomorphism. Theriomorphism and its preservation would have created a tradition that allowed the Arcadians to connect with their past heritage, identity, and landscape in a tangible way.

The concentration of theriomorphism in urban settings is more complicated. Urban centers can have their own theriomorphic figures (e.g., Kekrops in Athens, Apollo Kereatas in Sparta, and Zeus Ammon in Cyrene) that relate to meaningful animals from that area, but they also become generalized. This phenomenon is shown best in the cults of Pan and Acheloos. Both cults were taken from their original regions and generalized in the Greek mindset to represent a connection to nature and water, respectively. Caves to Pan outside of Arcadia provided an escape from urban life and into nature (discussed below). This human desire to return to nature is still evident today with the creation of city parks. This duality of rural and urban life reveals a liminal aspect to theriomorphism.

3.2.b Connections

Concentrations of theriomorphism show a connection to both rural and urban life. There are also connections between specific types of landscapes that terrestrial theriomorphic deities share, especially caves, as well as cultural connections between Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East.

Landscapes: Caves

There is a predominance for terrestrial hybrids associated with rivers, on mountains, and in caves. All three are connected to nature, are elusive, and associated with divine influence. Caves are especially important within this duality of urban and rural settings because of the symbolisms associated with their use. Caves and grottos are

within the realm of the untamed, seemingly uncivilized, and mountainous regions in Greek thought.[274] They are proto-houses of monsters, animals, and uncultured hybrids.[275] They are an inversion of human norms (being home to non-normative religion and natural, unbuilt houses) and are fit for beings that are both wild animal and human.[276] Caves also have connotations with the mysterious and supernatural. These characteristics are the perfect environment to worship these liminal divinities where they are connected to nature, animals, and the mysterious.

Myths and archaeological evidence concerning caves show the complex religious connotations and abundance of theriomorphic and liminal aspects. Cheiron, Demeter Melaina, Pan, and Acheloos are all worshiped in caves. Demeter Melaina's cave at Phigalia is connected to her myth and, according to Pausanias, she was worshipped there for a long time. Pan is also connected to this myth, since he found Demeter mourning in the cave. Pan's worship in caves reveals the complexities that are associated with caves in the Greek mindset.[277] Pan's association with caves comes after his introduction into the Athenian pantheon in the early 5th century. Around this same time, grottos were also home to the Nymphs and their father Acheloos. Like Pan, the Nymphs are associated with nature, water, and the powers of possession and divination.[278] They are also liminal, being protectors of nature and young women, guiding them during coming of age ceremonies. In addition, in a variant myth by 2nd century CE Greek novelist Longus, Pan

[274] Aston 2011, 144.
[275] i.e., the Cyclopes Polyphemos (*Ody.* 9.116-35) and the centaur Pholos who receives Herakles (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.4).
[276] Aston 2011, 145.
[277] For more on Pan caves, see Cardete 2018.
[278] Borgeaud 1988, 59. Inscriptions, such as *IG* XIV, 2040, mention that the "dread Nymphs" could possess the bodies of young girls by heightening their fear to make them ill or mad and could eventually kill them. This practice is called nympholepsy.

and Echo's unrequited relationship connects Pan to the cave.[279] Pan's madness creates echoes when he makes his panic-stricken shepherds rip apart Echo's body. Following the theme of communication, an echo itself is an unknown noise that establishes communication with the supernatural/unknown and humans and can cause panic to the listener. [280] Like an echo, the sound of Pan's syrinx was said to linger in rural landscapes and he could instill panic on the battlefield, therefore Pan is manifest in the echo.[281] Thus, it is likely that Pan's similar personality to the Nymphs (as well as his love affairs with them) and associations to nature inherently placed Pan in the caves. Pan's resemblance to Acheloos would have been part of this association as well. As mentioned above, caves provide a temporary escape in nature and allow for a seemingly more significant connection to animals.

Outside Cultural Influences

Theriomorphism is observable across the Mediterranean, especially in Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East. Connections to these locations reveal that Greece partook in cultural exchanges, especially during the Bronze Age, Archaic periods, and Hellenistic periods. It is during the Bronze and Archaic periods when theriomorphic hybrids were (re)introduced into Greek culture and religion. Thus, it is necessary to provide further detail on the exact periods that had the most cultural influence and expound upon theriomorphism at each location. The exact nature of influence that these cultures had on theriomorphism, however, proves to be more complicated.

[279] Longus, *Daphnis and Echo.*
[280] Edwards 1985, 23.
[281] Borgeaud 1988, 89.

Cyprus

There are constant periods of cultural interactions between Greece and Cyprus, but especially during the LBA, EIA, and Archaic periods. The Mycenaeans and Cypriots were trading, even in the LBA.[282] In addition, archaeological evidence shows that people from the Peloponnese established themselves on the island from the 13th century, at locations such as at Paphos.[283] There are many foundation myths and groups of people from the Peloponnese forming communities on Cyprus, including the Arcadians. The two regions share a common ancient dialect – the Arcado-Cypriot dialect –that preserved characteristics of a Mycenaean script.[284] This shared Mycenaean heritage between the two regions was already noted in Chapter 2 when discussing 12th century evidence for Apollo Kereatas on Cyprus.[285] The earliest known theriomorphic images from Cyprus are from the Bronze Age, such as Figure 2.2.b.2. Theriomorphism predominates in ancient Cypriot religion, especially of bulls and rams. Karageorghis (1971) and Vermeule (1974) detail bull and ram cults, respectively, on Cyprus, such as at Aiga Irini, Kourion, Amathus, and Morphou.

There is significant evidence for Greek and Cypriot interaction in the EIA,[286] but the next connection to theriomorphism does not occur until the 8th century, with the

[282] A well-known example of this contact comes from LHIIIB "Chariot Kraters." These Mycenaean vessels depict figured scenes (which was not the norm for mainland contemporary pottery) and are only found on Cyprus. They seem to have been made in the Argolid exclusively for export.
[283] Voyatzis 1985, 155.
[284] For more on the Arcado-Cypriot dialect, see Bakker 2010.
[285] To recap, it is not clear why this preservation of language and/or possible cult elements occur. One possibility is that because the two regions (Arcadia and Cyprus) are somewhat separated from the major centers of the Greek world in the historic period (Arcadia being up in the mountains, and Cyprus being a distant island), they therefore preserved older elements of language and cult. Migrations to Cyprus could also account for this shared dialect.
[286] In the EIA, there appears to be an artistic connection between ProtoGeometric and Cypro-Geometric pottery (ca. 1050), as shown on amphorae and skyphoi from Athens. It is also possible that the development of the multiple brush motif on ProtoGeometric pottery may have originated from Cyprus,

Petrovouni group from Arcadia (Fig. 2.5.c.1 (a-b)).[287] Voyatzis (1985) notes that this statuette, which stands on a common base, has no known parallels in Greece at all.[288] On Cyprus, however, there are animal-headed figurines on bases that dance in a ring,[289] but there are notable differences. The Cypriot ones are always horned and there is no evidence from the Bronze or Iron Ages of horned or masked figures in Arcadia.[290] Thus, while it is likely that both regions preserved aspects of an older Mycenaean tradition, it is not clear whether this preservation is based on common cultural influences or an innate association with animals. Specific theriomorphic details and differences among each culture's iconography show that local developments are at play.

Egypt

There are three major periods of heightened Egyptian influence in Greek culture. The first is during the EM period on Crete, as evidenced above by Egyptian prototypes of EM seals and images of the adapted Minoan Genius. This interaction continued into the Mycenaean period.[291] The greatest connection with Egypt, however, is around the Orientalizing period in the 8th and 7th centuries.[292]

There is a common theory that theriomorphism was (re)introduced into Greece from Egypt during this period. Ultimately, as discussed below, the extent of cultural

where it was used for a long time (see Snodgrass 1983). Cypriot pottery was also found at Lefkandi (see Desborough et al. 1970).

[287] Voyatzis 1985, 160.

[288] Voyatzis 1985, 160.

[289] See Voyatzis 1985, no. 20.

[290] Voyatzis 1985, 161.

[291] e.g., Egyptian influences in Minoan and Mycenean architecture and the LBA Ulubran shipwreck, which carried Egyptian imports (see below and Pulak 1988).

[292] Robertson 22. The Orientalizing period was a time during significant increases in population, money, and technology in Greece. Colonies spread across the western and eastern Mediterranean. In Egypt, Naucratis in northern Egypt became the only Greek colony in the area and was the major source for (re)introducing Egyptian culture to Greece.

influence on terrestrial theriomorphism in Greece cannot be proven. Nevertheless, because of their common elements, Egyptian connections are worthy of discussion, although they ultimately reveal more differences than similarities in attitudes towards theriomorphism. Egyptian influence in Greece, specifically in the cults of Zeus Ammon and the Minoan Genius, have been noted above. Even in the 5th century, Herodotus believed that the Greek gods originated from Egypt. For example, he claims that Pan originally was exported from Egypt as the goat-god Mendes, who sometimes had the face and legs of a goat.[293] Yet, similarities in appearance does not denote origin. Herodotus himself reveals key differences in Egyptian attitudes towards theriomorphism in this same passage:

> τὰς δὲ δὴ αἶγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι: τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι. γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῶγαλμα κατά περ Ἕλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι: ὅτευ δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὔ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἶγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι: ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἕνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης.
>
> I mentioned above that some of the Egyptians abstain from sacrificing goats, either male or female. The reason is the following: these Egyptians, who are the Mendesians, consider Pan to be one of the eight gods who existed before the twelve, and Pan is represented in Egypt by the painters and the sculptors, just as he is in Greece, with the face and legs of a goat. They do not, however, believe this to be his shape, or consider him in any respect unlike the other gods; but they represent him thus for a reason which I prefer not to relate. The Mendesians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goatherds of the male's special honor. One is venerated more highly than all the rest and when he dies there is a great mourning throughout all the Mendesian region. In Egyptian, the goat and Pan are both called Mendes.[294]

[293] Hdt. 2.46.1-4.
[294] This translation is my own. Greek is from Godley (2015).

The theory of Herodotus' Mirror, in which Herodotus uses "other" cultures to show a "Greek" culture, can be applied here.[295] Egyptians do not sacrifice goats at all and venerate them in the highest manner, while goats are one of the most common of sacrificial animals to the Greeks, including to Pan; Mendes is considered an old god, while Pan is a relatively young divinity; and the Egyptians do not consider the goat-form to be Mendes' true shape, unlike Pan. Herodotus does not elaborate on this final detail, yet we can understand what he meant today. Aston (2011) notes that to the ancient Egyptians, the divine and secular worlds around them could be read and decoded using symbols, such as hieroglyphics and natural signs.[296] Secrets could be revealed, and this was true for Egyptian theriomorphic or zoocephalic (having an animal head and anthropomorphic body and limbs) gods. She notes that "animal form, or more usually, an animal head, were symbols the gods could give us when manifesting themselves to mortals; and they were symbols mortals could use when depicting the gods in certain manifestations" (i.e., the cow associated with maternal tenderness, etc.).[297] Zoocephalic form was not only a way Egyptians perceived their gods to look, but also a way to reveal aspects of the gods' personalities at a given time. One god could adopt multiple animal attributes, and the interpretation of this meaning depended heavily on religious texts and priestly interpretations. While symbolisms and interpretations of specific animal attributes in the Greek world are examined below, they do not work in the same ways as in Egypt. Greek theriomorphism seems to be a more generic connection to animal aspects

[295] For more on Herodotus' mirror, see Hartog 1988.
[296] Aston 2011, 22.
[297] Aston 2011, 22.

and lifestyles and the domain of their divine influence. It seems the only commonality is in their external appearance.

Near East

Cultural exchange with the Near East, including the Mesopotamians and Phoenicians, occurred most significantly during the LBA, EIA, and Archaic period, as well. As noted in Chapter 2, in the LBA there are Mycenaean imports that were found in Ugarit (Syria) as well as Sarepta and other locations in the Levant.[298] Furthermore, there is the LBA Ulubrun shipwreck near ancient Kas (Turkey) that was carrying raw metal materials likely originating from Cyprus and Egypt.[299] It also had Phoenician pottery aboard. In the EIA, as noted above, Phoenician imports were found in a burial at Lefkandi.[300] In addition, Phoenician imports and Greek adaptions have been found at Aegina and near Corinth, especially.[301]

In Mesopotamia and Phoenicia, theriomorphism is common in many anatomical varieties: animal-headed humans, human-headed animals, winged figures, and horned figures, etc., beginning in the LBA (16th century). In modern scholarship, many of the Mesopotamian hybrids are considered monsters or demons. Most commonly these are depicted on stone seals, such as the centaur seal from Assyria, as seen in Chapter 2. Recognizable terrestrial human figures are present, such as the bull-man, goat-man, and other monsters, but the only the centaur seems to have come directly from Mesopotamia. In addition, scenes in which these figures appear in Near Eastern art are often difficult to

[298] Muly 1970, 34-35.
[299] See Pulak 1988.
[300] Desborough et al. 1970, 24.
[301] Markoe 1996, 59.

interpret. They do not match the extant literary narratives.[302] Yet, many demons are identifiable. These demons appear frequently, are apotropaic, and have supernatural or magical abilities, mainly to ward off ills such as disease and robbery.[303] Demons could be good or bad and were typically warded off with amulets. Demons are considered subsidiary beings, often depicted as offering bearers or other cultic servants to deities.[304] This same phenomenon, as noted above, existed with the Minoan Genius. Monsters are also closely aligned in this same classification of demons, as they relate to ancient ideas of evil, whether good or bad.[305] Again, it is difficult to discern the extent of Near Eastern influence in Greek culture, but there is a strong link, especially concerning monsters.

The extent of influence that Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East had on Greece in the case of terrestrial theriomorphism is ambiguous. In some sense, cross cultural Mediterranean interaction in the Bronze Age (especially the EM and LH periods), EIA, and in the 8th and 7th centuries certainly had an influence on Greek art and ideals.

3.3 Terrestrial Theriomorphism and Representation

Having examined theriomorphism in time and place, we can return to a discussion of iconography. Much of Chapter 2 examined the iconography and appearance of the terrestrial theriomorphic hybrids. This section provides an in-depth analysis of this iconography to identify trends as well as determine the significances of each animal attribute as part of the makeup of the hybrid, and possible symbolisms to show the complex relationship between animals, human, and nature.

[302] Aston 2011, 24.
[303] Aston 20011, 24
[304] Mellink 1987, 67.
[305] Aston 2011, 26. See Farone 1992, 26.

3.3.a Theriomorphism and Anthropomorphism

In Chapter 1, I argued that theriomorphism is not part of an evolution from a "primitive religion," in which animals are worshiped, towards anthropomorphization. Yet, some hybrids (e.g., Pan, Acheloos, and Kekrops) do seem to acquire more human features over time and/or contemporaneously, especially around the face. This begs the question: is there is a trend towards anthropomorphism in the depiction of theriomorphic hybrids that shows an evolution towards diminishing animalistic traits?

Aston (2011) discusses this theory for evolutionary displacement and determines that there is not an increase in anthropomorphism in *religious* iconography.[306] Her main evidence is derived from three terrestrial hybrids: Dionysos *tauromoprhos*, Pan, and Acheloos. The evidence for Dionysos *tauromorphos* is scanty, complicated, and relatively late, so I do not include him in Chapter 2, yet his inclusion in her discussion shows that theriomorphism was prevalent even in later periods.[307] In the case of Pan and Acheloos, she acknowledges that there is an apparent evolution towards anthropomorphism, but only in *non-cultic* iconography. This fact, in turn, means that it cannot be taken as evidence for a shift in religious activities for them.[308] The root of her argument is to demonstrate that there is no clear evidence for a development from a "primitive religion;" there is only a vague association with the past.

While Aston's ultimate conclusions are generally correct in my opinion, there are problems with the details of her argument. For instance, when discussing Pan specifically, she does not define what constitutes cultic versus non-cultic iconography

[306] Aston 2001, 196-201.
[307] Aston 2011, 201. The exception is the tauromorphos image at Cyzicus described by Athenaios, Deipn. 11.4476a) which may have been an early cult image.
[308] Aston 2011, 201.

when the art is taken out of context nor does she provide any examples. Instead, I posit that an analysis of theriomorphism should not necessarily separate the sacred from the profane so distinctly. There are benefits to analyzing theriomorphic representations in a non-structuralist view.[309] It demonstrates that Greek culture was not homogenous, Greek religion and ritual were deeply intertwined with the secular, and that there are multiple possible responses and factors involved with each type of theriomorphic representation. As noted above in Chapter 2 on Pan, images of Pan could highlight specific aspects of his personality (e.g., the development of Panes), follow artistic conventions of the time (e.g., youthful Pan in the 4th century), or the varying degrees of hybridity could show personal or regional artistic preferences for theriomorphism. Although it is impossible to discern the implications for the coterminous different ways to represent a hybrid, it is necessary to note that anthropomorphism did occur at times, even if it did not evolve to complete oblivion of hybridity or imply changes in attitude towards worship. These details still support her main conclusions that there was no evolution from a "primitive religion" and remind us of the fluidity of Greek culture.

3.3.b Significance of Terrestrial Animal Attributes

This fluidity does not allow for a clear answer about the relationship between theriomorphism and anthropomorphism. Ultimately, we cannot know what ancient peoples believed. Nevertheless, discussions about the significance of each terrestrial animal attribute (horse, goat and ram, bull, and snake) shows that these hybrids expressed

[309] Structuralists view religion as separate from everyday life, while non-structuralists see religion connected to everyday life. For more on this topic, see Kyriakidis 2007 and Fogelin 2007, who provides an overview of Durkheim, Geertz, etc.

a duality and liminality that allowed for a closer connection to nature and animals and a means to represent local identity.

Horse

The horse was introduced into Greece in the early 2nd millennium BCE and left a lasting impact in their culture ever since.[310] The horse's character has two sides in Greek thought: tame and wild. In everyday life, horses are not associated with the domestic ubiquity of the bull or the pastoral benefits of goats and sheep. Instead, the horse is associated with chariots used during war, hunting, and usually aristocratic classes as instruments of human activity.[311] In myth, on the other hand, horses are shown as aggressive,[312] wild, and sometimes associated with fertility.

Centaurs embody the wild aspect of the horse, while having a human mind that is enslaved to the wild. In the case of the wise Cheiron, Aston (2011) notes that his physical form and persona likely have no connection, meaning that his appearance does not explicitly expose his associations, like that of Pan.[313] Instead, these two aspects are connected to Thessaly. The rolling hills and fertile soil make the landscape ideal for rearing horses and the medicinal herbs that grew in the area allowed for a creation of a wise healer that showcases Thessalian identity. Cheiron represents the human aspect's triumph over the animal.

Horses are also popular in Arcadia. The mountainous landscape would not have been as ideal for the horses, but they appear frequently in Arcadian foundation and

[310] Crouwel 1981, 32.
[311] Aston 2011, 95.
[312] e.g., the horses of King Diomedes of Thrace whose murderous horses violate ξενία during Herakles' labors (Diod. 4.15).
[313] Aston 2011, 95.

religious myths. As noted in Chapter 2, refugee centaurs occupied Mt. Pholoe following the centauromachy, yet these are late descriptions.[314] Nilsson (1972) suggests that centaurs have an old connection with water.[315] River spirits often took the shape of horses.[316] Poseidon is also known as a horse tamer, often depicted with horses and hippocamps driving his chariots. Yet, Poseidon Hippios is a popular deity mainly in the Peloponnese, especially in Arcadia. He had six sites of cultic worship in Arcadia alone, which are mainly known from literary evidence: Mantineia,[317] Methydrion,[318] Lykosoura,[319] Thelopousa,[320] Pheneos,[321] and Pallantion.[322] It seems that these locations were commonly affected by flooding, again showing a connection between horses and water.[323] Poseidon plays a prominent role, as discussed, in myths associated with Phigalia and Thelopousa, as a result of his union with Demeter, and their resulting offspring, Despoina and the stallion Arion. Demeter Melaina's appearance no doubt connects her to the myth when she conceived her children by Poseidon Hippios. Horse-headed Demeter distinguishes the Phigilians from other communities, giving them their own identity that is attached to this myth. Three horse hybrids are also on Despoina's veil. It is also interesting to note that there is a Bronze Age connection to a mistress of horses. "Horse Potnia" *po-*]*ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* is mentioned on a Linear B fragment from Pylos.[324] In a

[314] Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.* 221
[315] Nilsson 1972, 12.
[316]Nilsson 1972, 34. In addition, he proposes that the etymology for centaur is "water whipper" and suggests that they are old water spirits of mountain springs but does not provide an explanation for his translation.
[317] Paus. 8.10.2.
[318] Paus 8.36.2.
[319] Paus. 8.37.2: altar to Poseidon Hippos in Sanctuary of Despoina.
[320] Paus. 8.25.7.
[321] Paus. 8.14.5: statue.
[322] Dionys. *Hal*. antique. I 33: the Hippokrateia Festival. For more on Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia, see Mylonopoulos 2003 and Baleriaux 2015, 194-201.
[323] Baleriaux 2015, 197.
[324] Mahoney 2016, 99, n. 282.

theriomorphic context, horses represent a duality that contemplates what constitutes wild and tame. As for theriomorphic deities, the horse serves as a representation of local identity that separates one community from another, such as in Thessaly versus Phigalia.

Goat and Sheep

Goats and sheep also share this association with duality, nature, and identity. Goats and sheep were the most common animals associated with deities and cultic rituals in art and as sacrificial animals.[325] Goat sacrifices are mentioned by Homer,[326] but the practice goes back to the Mycenaean period.[327] Since there are so many gods and sanctuaries associated with goats and sheep, and many instances have been discussed above, I only highlight generalities.[328] Transhumance and agro-pastoralism were profitable parts of any economy. Goats and sheep provided sustenance, clothes, and a means to propitiate to the gods. Both the he-goat and ram are associated with lust, fertility, pastoralism, and rural life in general.[329] The ferocity and fertility of male sheep and goats are especially valuable. As noted in Athens and Sparta, sacrifice of the only male goat/ram in the flock was a demonstration of great sacrifice for a family and community. In addition, they are also associated with leadership, as demonstrated by the cult of Apollo Karneios. In art, the horns are the characteristic feature of theriomorphic gods that brings associations to the past and pastoralist lifestyles, except in the case of

[325] Bremmer 2007, 140.
[326] *Ody*. 1.25.
[327] Through C^{14} dating, Starkovich et al. (2013) proved that sacrifice, especially of sheep and goat, took place at Mt. Lykaion as far back as the 16th century. In addition, many of the burnt bones are of the femurs, patellas, and tail bones, showing continuity for normative animal sacrifice.
[328] See Bevan 1985.
[329] Bevan 1985, 246.

Zeus Ammon. In general, hircine iconographical attributes are more straightforward and reveal the connotations that are associated with these theriomorphic beings.

Bull

Bulls have been revered, arguably since wild races of aurochs and water buffalo were domesticated in the Pleistocene era nearly 6,000 years ago.[330] Athanasopoulou (2003) provides a thorough analysis of bull reverence and cults in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Crete, and mainland Greece since the Neolithic period.[331] The famous bull cult and iconography in Minoan culture has already been noted above. In normative animal sacrifice, oxen were the most prestigious offering, because they were valuable and represented a great personal sacrifice.[332] Oxen are expensive to rear and the most useful animal for farming, even in the Homeric tradition.[333] There are also thousands of bull votives in Greece, Cyprus, and Crete beginning in the Neolithic.[334] It seems that the animal was revered by continuous innate human appreciation and cultural interaction. Bulls are associated with power, fertility, domestic utility, and the divine. In addition to Acheloos and Dionysos, bulls are associated with Poseidon,[335] Athena,[336] Artemis,[337] and Zeus.[338] As for Acheloos, it is easy to understand a connection between a

[330] Blondel 2006, 717.
[331] Athanassopoulou 2003, 32-34. For more on the bull in the ancient Mediterranean, see Bevan 1986, 82-99 and McInerney 2010.
[332] Bremmer 2007, 137.
[333] e.g., *Ody.* 3, 6.
[334] See Bevan 2003, 88-90 for bull iconography at sanctuaries.
[335] The Tauria was a festival to Poseidon.
[336] Bevan 2003, 84. Taurobolos ("bull-slayer") is an epithet to Athena on Andros.
[337] Artemis was called Taruopolos ("hunting bulls," "drawn by bulls," or "worshiped at Tauris") in Amphipolis (Str. 9.1.22), Halai (Str. 14.1.9), Ikaros (Str. 5.3.12), Aricia (Italy) (Str. 16.3.2), Komana and Kastabala (Cappadocia) (Str. 12.2.3, 7), Phakaia, and Sparta.
[338] e.g., Io and Europa.

raging bull and a raging river. In addition, bull shaped river spirits are common in European folklore.[339] The nourishment of water is also a form of fertility.

The Minotaur's role in taurine iconography and religious aspects is not clear and has been the focus of many fanciful interpretations. Cook has suggested that the bull-human hybrids from Minoan art represent bull-worshipers in costume.[340] His hypothesis is difficult to prove despite Cypriot comparanda. Bevan (1986) goes further to suggest that "it is also possible to interpret some episodes in the story of Theseus [i.e., the slaying of the Minotaur and Marathonian bull] as allegorical versions of the defeat of this old religion."[341] Such a statement is now discredited.[342] Nevertheless, the Minotaur does reveal associations to fertility, identity, and the boundaries of what constitutes a monster or theriomorphic being.

Snake

Although Kekrops is the only (commonly) theriomorphic deity associated with snakes, they were popular in religious contexts, even in the Bronze Age. Snakes certainly had some role in cultic role, which Bevan (1986) thoroughly discusses.[343] For the Minoans, snakes seem to be a part of palatial religious and domestic shrines and are associated with females. The most well-known are the two (and parts of a third) Minoan faience goddesses or worshippers (which wear flounced skirts, have bare-breasts, and hold snakes) found in the so-called Temple Repositories at Knossos.[344] Similar female

[339] Nilsson 1972, 11.
[340] See Cook, *JHS* 14 (1894), 120-132.
[341] Bevan 1986, 85.
[342] Aston 2011, 143.
[343] Bevan 1906, 260-1.
[344] Bevan 2003, 260. Lupack 2010, 198.

figurines were also found at Gournia and Prinias.[345] In the Mycenaean period, there is a connection between snakes and the cult centers at the palaces. As mentioned above, coiled terracotta snakes were found at the cult center at Mycenae.

In the historic periods, snakes become associated with many deities, including an Archaic Potnia Theron figure, Demeter, Athena, Apollo, Zeus Maleatas, and Asklepios. Of special interest here is Demeter Melaina who, like the gorgon, had snakes sprouting from her head, according to Pausanias.[346] He does not elaborate on their significance. In addition, Pausanias also notes that Damophon sculpted the cult statue group at Lykosoura with Despoina holding snakes. Despoina's connection to animals and nature relates her to the earlier Potnia Theron-like figure. Like the god, snakes are immortals, conquering death through regenerative shedding. In addition, their saliva and licking could heal wounds of the ill in Asklepeia.

Snakes are most well-known for their chthonic characteristics, especially at Athens. As noted in Chapter 2, snakes were vital in Athens' foundation myths, including Kekrops and even Erechthonios.[347] Zeus Meliarchos was also worshiped in Athens in the form of a snake.[348] In addition, Athena was associated with snakes in myth and at her sanctuaries. Several of her sanctuaries yielded a few examples of the serpent-motif on bracelet's and vases, such as at Halai, Gortyn, Delphi, and Tegea.[349] Snakes also adorned

[345] Bevan 2003, 260.
[346] Paus. 8.42.2.
[347] Apoll. *Bib*. 3.14.6. Erechthonios was born when Hephaistos' semen fell on Athena's thigh when he tried to rape her. As she wiped it away, it fell to the earth and Erechthonius was born. The goddess hid him in a box and gave it to Kekrops' three daughters (Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus) to guard and never look inside. But they did look and saw Erechthonius entangled in a snake or half-snake, went insane and committed suicide, and he later became king.
[348] Gourmelen 2004, 14. Interestingly, Bevans does not discuss Zeus Meliarchos.
[349] Bevan 198, 273.

her chryselephantine statue at the Parthenon.[350] Despite the prevalence of snakes in Greek myth and religion, Kekrops is the only deity that consistently has a snake-hybrid form. His form is associated with the autochthonic foundation story of Athens, making him an iconographic way to depict Athenian heritage and identity.

Overall Significance

Analysis of specific animal attributes shows connections to duality of function, the natural world, communication, and identity. Theriomorphism is an important and distinctive feature for these hybrids; their unique appearance is a distinguishing factor of their own identity and a recognizable iconographic symbol. The varying ways to depict theriomorphic compositions (i.e., theriomorphic elements on the whole body versus only small details), let alone only terrestrial ones, shows that any combination of animal and human features defines them as theriomorphic.[351] Sometimes associations to certain animals can reveal aspects of their personality, functions, or the nature of their domain. For example, three of the goat and ram gods are associated with shepherding. Yet, how is Pan distinguished from Apollo Nomios, for example? What does the hircine element add to a god's persona and divine abilities? For Apollo Kereatas, Apollo Karneios, and Pan, their connection to animals is intentional. They are not just gods of the shepherds, but gods of the flocks. I would argue that their distinct hybrid nature allows them to better communicate between animals, humans, and the divine. Other times, local theriomorphic beings begin as local and then become generalized and local symbolisms are lost. These cases show that theriomorphism was not standardized.

[350] Paus. 1.18.1.
[351] Aston 2011, 148.

Other hybrids, like Demeter Melaina, Zeus Ammon and Kekrops are associated with foundation stories and animals that are attributed to a certain location. Yet, the precise nature of their hybridity does not always have an obvious rationale.[352] The theriomorphic form of Acheloos, the centaurs (including Cheiron), and the satyrs is certainly part of their identities, and that of their followers (in the case of Acheloos and Cheiron), but their physical form does not necessarily reveal their natures or divine powers from the start.

In conclusion, religious and non-religious theriomorphic forms as well as their polyvalence reveal the fluidity of this practice in Greek culture. There are connections to nature, duality, and identity, and communication.

3.4. Themes

Theriomorphic beings are bound together by strong interconnecting themes, especially deities, thus it is necessary to synthesize the information above in these categories.[353] These themes elucidate further on the complex, fluid, and other worldly connections that accompany terrestrial theriomorphic iconography, mythology, and worship. This section analyzes some of these themes, including connections to transformations (masks), liminality, plurality and parings, and prophecy.

3.4.a. Transformation: Masks

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to expound upon the connections between theriomorphism, transformation, and metamorphosis in myth and art.[354] Yet, I have made

[352] Aston 2011, 148.
[353] Aston 2011, 148.
[354] For more on this topic, see Aston 2011, 268-289; Kindt 2019.

note of several masks above, so they are worthy of more attention here. An analysis of masks helps reveal the basic role that (terrestrial) theriomorphism played in Greek culture and religion to express inner conflict and interact with animals and nature both in the material world and in the supernatural.

Masks are also a key aspect of transformation that fundamentally relates to theriomorphism, beginning back in the prehistoric periods. Masks show the fluidity of metamorphosis, the immobility of the visual image, changing of identities, a connection to the past, and communication with the supernatural.[355] The practice of using masks goes back into the Neolithic period, usually of abstract animals and humans.[356] Most notably for this study, Gimbutas (1984) suggests that masks were used in Thessaly, especially at the site she excavated, the Achilleion near Farsala, Thessaly. Here, abstract anthropomorphic masks are attached to pillar figurines (Fig. 3.4.a.1). I agree that these are probably masks, but what they mean or represent is disputed.[357] Gimbutas posits that these masks are "beaked," which would make them theriomorphic, yet the images are so abstract it is difficult to make a solid argument.[358] Toufexis (2003) identifies two theriomorphic protome masks from MN Thessaly. He notes that while these images should be interpreted with caution, they indicate the existence of a connection between "the animal and human world, where 'dramatic' practices of uncertain content may have taken place."[359] Figure 3.4.a.2 has horns with a near human head, but I cannot make out

[355] Aston 2011, 287.
[356] For a comprehensive look at Neolithic masks, see Gimbutas 1984, 57-66. Neolithic masks have been proposed to come from, most notably, the Necropolis at Varna (Bulgaria), Near East, Romania, Dikili Tas, Sakhtych (Ivanovo), Opovo and Vinca (Yugoslavia), and the Achilleion (Thessaly). Most prehistoric masks are associated with figurines, but large stylized masks also appear.
[357] Gimbutas 1984, 57 suggests that Neolithic masks indicate that theatrical (religious) rites occurred.
[358] Gimbutas 1984, 61.
[359] Toufexis 2003, 263.

these features. Figure 3.4.a.3 is a large facemask, probably a protome of a vase, and has wide eyes, nostrils, and protruding tongue that could be an indeterminate animal-human hybrid. Once again, I do not see the human features in the mask. The face could be an indeterminate animal. He also mentions an EN/MN clay figurine of a quadruped with a human head, but it could also be interpreted as a crawling human.[360] Toufexis' theories are difficult to prove, but worthy of mention.

Masks also appear in the Mycenean period. The most prominent examples come from the cult complex at Mycenae, with a *terminus ante quem* of LH IIIB. This type of figures, also called Type B figurines, are terracotta, grotesque, painted in a dark paint, and rather large, measuring 0.35-0.69 m tall (as shown in Figures 3.4.a.4 and 3.4.a.5).[361] Twenty-seven Type B figurines were found in Room 19 in a small alcove behind Room 18.[362] Rutkowski (1986) suggests that their abstract faces, which are different from the other types, could be masks.[363] Miniature masks were also placed on wooden idols and priestesses wore masks during religious ceremonies.[364] Fragments of other idols and fifteen coiled terracotta snakes were also found with the Type B figurines in an alcove.[365] A common interpretation is that these figurines are celebrants participating in a ceremony.[366]

In the historical period, masks are more straight forward. Napier (1985) categorizes Greek masks into five types: sepulchral, votive and honorific, (grotesque)

[360] Toufexis 2003, 264. For the quadruped, see Gallis and Orphanidis 1996, 406, no. 355.
[361] Lupack 2010, 266.
[362] Lupack 2010, 266. In some instances, fragments of the same figure were found in the two rooms.
[363]Rutkowski 1986, 179.
[364] Rutkowski 1986, 179.
[365] Lupack 2010, 266.
[366] Lupack 2010, 266.

apotropaic, and dramatic.[367] These masks could be votive or functional and have a supernatural connection. Ones that are (arguably) religious in nature are associated with Dionysos, Artemis, and Demeter, all of which are connected to animals and metamorphosis.[368] As for terrestrial animal-human hybrid deities, Acheloos and Dionysos *tauromorphos* have comparatively more examples of masks that reveal important details about their cult and iconography. On the nymph relief (see Fig. 2.3.a.4 above), Acheloos is typically only represented by his larger face, which is mask-like.[369] As mentioned, Acheloos masks were decorative and functional, as they could sit on cult tables, as protomes, or hang from a wall.[370] His face was probably apotropaic, but the significance in a religious context is not able to be discerned. As for Dionysos, he was often represented as a mask (in addition to those of his full body) in both religious contexts and in vase painting, yet his satyr companions have close associations to masks as well.[371] First, satyr masks are associated with drama and ritual contexts. For example, satyrs are one of the types of masks categorized by Dawkins (1929) and reanalyzed by Carter (1987) from the Archaic (7^{th} – 6^{th} century) phases of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where hundreds of masks were found.[372] These terracotta votive satyr masks (e.g., Fig. 3.4.a.6) have characteristic pointy ears, beards, and animalistic faces. They are also significant considering the role satyrs play in in later Classical comedies.[373] In

[367] Napier 1985, 47.
[368] Napier 1985, 52.
[369] Aston 2011, 287.
[370] See again, fig. 2.3.a.3-4.
[371] Aston 2011, 288, esp. n. 2.
[372] Carter (1987, 361) suggests that these masks may have been influenced from Mesopotamian prototypes, especially from Phoenicia.
[373] For more on satyrs in Classical drama, see Napier 1986 and Jevons 1916.

iconography, their faces are generally mask-like and grotesque, making them a suitable candidate to embody for theatrical purposes.[374]

Masks are connected to the idea of transformation that is common in (religious) myth and ritual. Masks and costumes are vehicles for transformation whether spiritually or for entertainment.[375] In Chapter 2, we discussed the iconography from Lykosoura (Figs. 2.5.a.1-3) and the horse headed figurine from Petrovouni (Fig. 2.5.c.1 (a-b)) that likely represents humans wearing animal costumes. There is a clear connection to (religious, given the context) ritual and revelry with the theriomorphic figures on Despoina's veil and the figurine group. The standing theriomorphic votives from Lykosoura are similar to other much earlier votives from Cyprus, of what appear to be priests wearing bull masks.[376] One such example, Figure 3.4.a.8, is from Ayia Irini (Cyprus) and dates to the EBA. Here, the figure, although broken, stands erect, wearing a bull mask that extends to the neck. The mask is noticeably larger than the figure's body, emphasizing the nature of the mask.[377]

Masks, like theriomorphism, are a paradox. While theriomorphism shows a conflict of civilized and savage, etc., masks are both mobile through the process of transformation but immobile in representation.[378] Napier (1986), who discusses a cross-cultural and diachronic examination of mask usage, notes that masks ultimately deal with

[374] Aston 2011, 289. This is also true for gorgon faces.
[375] Napier 1986, 54. e.g., An Attic black figure belly amphora (Fig. 3.4.a.7) dated to the 5th century also shows a chorus of men dressed in animal masks and costumes dancing to the music of a flute. On the other hand, these figures could also be animal-human hybrids.
[376] See Karageorghis 1971.
[377] Actual masks made of bull skulls were found in a ca. 8th century phase at a courtyard at the Temple to Astarte at Kition. The back of the skulls was removed as well as any projecting pieces where a face would be. See Karageorghis 1971, 263 and figs. 8-9.
[378] Aston 2011, 298.

oppositions or paradoxes "by making special contact with an inapprehensible, often radically dissimilar world."[379] In Greek contexts especially, masks are associated with death and birth,[380] shamanistic practices,[381] religious practices used to channel the supernatural, and personifications and metaphorical representations.[382] Masks are most commonly used in situations in which people have a difficult time comprehending or expressing their emotions, such as existential questions concerning life and death and love. Masks allow an individual to transform their identity or, in religious contexts, to channel and communicate beyond the human realm. This concept is similar to theriomorphic figures, in that these hybrids, through their own transformations and unique appearances, especially around the face, have a special connection between human, the divine, and animals. Like theriomorphism in general, masks are multivalent and fluid, allowing for more personal connections to the other worldly and an understanding of paradoxes.

3.4.b Liminality

As animal-human hybrids, the terrestrial beings discussed in this thesis are innately liminal; they dance on the boundaries of what it means to be human and animal or civilized and wild. For these deities, they can be liminal in terms of their personality, appearance, and locations for cult worship. Yet, the degree of their liminality differs; some preserve the boundaries of human life, some threaten it, and some embrace both. The ancient Greek ideology of the civilized life versus barbarianism was part of the

[379] Napier 1986, 15-16; 20.
[380] See Napier (1986, 20), who discusses connections between the Perseus-Gorgon myth and death rituals and tragedy as an expression of coping with death.
[381] Napier 1986, 20 cites that in masks were recovered from shamanistic graves from Thrace.
[382] Napier 1986, 18-19. Masks are used as a means of transformation to convey a larger metaphor in tragic or comic plays.

culture at least since Homer's story of the famous Cyclops, and likely earlier.[383] Thus, theriomorphic gods can be viewed as symbolic of this ideology.

As discussed above, Davies suggested that the depiction of theriomorphic beings outwardly portrays the struggles within any man with his inner, human self and his outward, animalistic self.[384] Both Cheiron and Kekrops are instances where the human-self is preserved over the animalistic instincts, so much so that they both essentially taught the Greeks how to be civilized. Cheiron, as healer, teacher, and prophet, helped humans gain wisdom. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 2, he may have also had a kourotrophic purpose at Pharsalos and Thera, assisting young males in their transition to adulthood. Kekrops essentially created society, giving the Athenians laws, cultivation of the olive, burial customs, writing, and monogamous marriage.

Demeter Melaina, Dionysos, satyrs, and centaurs can tilt the scales towards animalistic behavior. When angry, Demeter Melaina can bring about famine and destruction and cause the inhabitants of Phigalia to resort to eating their own offspring like barbaric cannibals and Lykaon.[385] In a Dionysian *thaisos* or drunken revelry, people can become uncontrollable and animalistic, like the maenads. This feature is representative of satyrs, Panes, and centaurs who act on animalistic instincts.

As for Pan, Apollo Kereatas, and Apollo Karneios (three out of four of the ram gods) they preserve their liminality, as a means to preserve the pastoralist lifestyle. This is demonstrated by their cultic practices and locations of worship. Although Apollo

[383] *Ody*. 9.122-310.
[384] Davies 1986, 182-2.
[385] Paus. 8.42.1; 9.

Kereatas and Karneios do not have many (if any) images, as stated, when Pan's cult became more widespread in the 5th century, artists began playing with his image and the boundaries of human and animal, either depicting him as youthful, generic, or older. In terms of worship, all three preserve their rural nature. Spartans worshiped Apollo Karneios by returning to nomadic life during the Karneia harvest festival. In Arcadia, as noted at Berekla, Pan was worshiped mainly by pastoralists either at his own rural shines or in conjunction with other deities. The prevalence of animal, human, and divine imagery at Berekla shows Pan's liminal role in communication with all beings. In addition, the location of Pan sanctuaries also showcases this liminality. As noted by Cardete (2016), many of the 16 proclaimed Pan sanctuaries in Arcadia are located at prominent cities or at boundaries.[386] This placement emphasizes Pan's role as a liminal god working at the boundary of civilization and savagery. Many are also along major foot highways, which is also the case for Apollo Kereatas and Apollo Karneios. These ancient roads are preserved in Greece today, as shown on the maps I provide. Figure 3.4.b.1. shows the cult sites for all three gods in mainland Greece with noticeable concentrations around the modern highways that are indicated by yellow lines. This indicates that as ancients travelled, their local deities went with them as they crossed other territories. In addition, Pan's worship in caves, as showcased by the caves in Athens, shows that worshipping Pan acted as a temporary escape back to the "old way" or rural way of life in the big city.

[386] Cardete 2016, 51.

3.4.c Plurality and Parings

Many terrestrial theriomorphic figures are part of divine groupings in art and worship. These groupings take two forms: 1) plurals of theriomorphic beings and 2) divine parings, typically of Zeus and a hybrid god.

Satyrs, Panes, and centaurs (and even Minoan Genii) appear in multiples and are considered secondary mythological species, often as attendants. All of these, except for the Genii, are associated with Dionysos. As discussed, Dionysos could have theriomorphic features, but these are not widespread. Instead, his association to animals, metamorphosis, and wild nature are represented by his theriomorphic associates that accompany him in art. Aston (2011) argues that his theriomorphic participants signify his metamorphic nature.[387] Theriomorphic attendants are also likely part of the Despoina's cult at Lykosoura. These figures appear on Despoina's veil from the cult statue (Fig. 2.5.a.2) and her throne, and in over 140 theriomorphic votives from the Megaron (Fig. 2.5.a.1 (a-c)). As discussed, the theriomorphic beings recall Despoina's metamorphic birth and reveal her identity as a goddess of animals and nature. Once again, theriomorphism is a marker of a figure who is able to transcend human, animal, divine, and even chthonic boundaries. It seems that these pluralities indicate their associated deity has affiliations with nature, animals, and metamorphosis without depicting the god as theriomorphic. Why this phenomenon occurs is not able to be answered.

Many of the terrestrial theriomorphic gods were not often worshiped on their own, even at their earliest sanctuaries. It seems that local deities Demeter Melaina,

[387] Aston 2011, 215.

Apollo Karneios, and probably Apollo Kereatas as well as Zeus Ammon were major divine figures with their own sacred spaces. Cheiron and Acheloos were primarily worshiped as secondary divinities at other divinities sanctuaries, but, as shown in Chapter 2, worship to them could better be defined as religious acknowledgment. Pan's sacred spaces vary in this respect, but he is often worshiped in shrines at other divinities' sanctuaries. The most famous divine parings are associated with Zeus. These include Zeus Akraios and Cheiron at Pelion in Thessaly, Zeus Lykaios and Pan at Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia, and Zeus Naios and Acheloos at Dodona in Epirus.[388] The latter two have a prophetic element which is discussed below. Aston (2011) does not provide a detailed significance for these parings. I suggest that the parings reveal an aspiration of the local peoples to establish a unique, major sanctuary that highlights their own theriomorphic gods. Although Acheloos does not originate from Epirus, water is a central aspect of the cult.[389]

3.5.d Prophecy and Wisdom

Prophetic powers and wisdom are associated with several divine theriomorphic gods. They are not a defining aspect of theriomorphism, but a distinguishing factor.[390] Cheiron, Pan, and Zeus Ammon have these associations. Acheloos is worshiped at Dodona, but he does not have oracular abilities.

As mentioned, Cheiron is an important figure in Greek mythology for being the teacher to many famous heroes, including Herakles, Achilles, Jason, Akteon, Castor, and

[388] Aston 2011, 145.
[389] Parke 197, 146.
[390] Aston 2011, 146.

Pollux, and also as the instructor of Asklepios in the art of healing.[391] Pindar details that Asklepios' healer father Apollo sent him to Cheiron after his mother died.[392] Some scholars have suggested that the curative power of centaurs is evidence for their Indo-European origin and shamanic character.[393] Thessaly, in particular, would have been introduced to such shamanistic influence from Thrace and the Black Sea region. Apotropaic or cathartic cures are also connected to the Eastern origins of Dionysos and his centaur and satyr companions.[394] This wisdom (*mantis*) is what separates Cheiron from his fellow centaurs.

Pan's association with oracular functions was widespread. At his most notable sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia that he shared with Zeus Lykaios, there was apparently an oracle to Pan that remains undiscovered.[395] Outside of Arcadia, his prophecies took place in caves through the use of knucklebones.[396] Pausanias mentions that at Lykosoura, there is a Pan sanctuary where, like the most powerful gods, Pan can answer prayers and incite revenge on the wicked. There is also a small fire with an eternal flame, where the god used to give oracles and the nymph Erato became his prophetess.[397] Prophecies, as noted above, are also connected with the nymphs that are independent of Pan. Perhaps his prophetic nature was highlighted because of the cave setting. In addition, Sporn (2013) argues that cave worship is for the individual; rarely do entire communities offer feasts at a cave.[398] The prophetic element adds a personal

[391] Napier 1986, 79.
[392] Pind. *Pyth*. 3.7.
[393] Napier 1986, 79 (following Dodds, Eliade, Burkert, Lain Entralgo).
[394] Napier 1986, 80.
[395] Sch. ad. Theoc. *Idylls*, 1.123c-f.
[396] Borgeuad 1988, 112.
[397] Paus. 8.37.10-11.
[398] Sporn 2013, 202.

relationship between the divine and suppliant. Prophecy is what distinguishes Pan from other generic Panes and satyrs.

Zeus's prophetic abilities are famous from his sanctuary at Dodona. Zeus Ammon's oracles are associated with this as well as the Egyptian god Ammon at Siwah in Libya of which it derives. Oracles to Zeus Ammon were known throughout Greece, such as at Aphytis.[399] Oracular powers and distinguished wisdom only emphasize the argument that terrestrial hybrids allowed for an enhanced communication between the earthly and divine realms.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have analyzed the data presented in Chapter 2 and attempted to identify trends of terrestrial theriomorphism, in four main sections 1) time; 2) location; 3) iconography; and 4) overall themes. As I have demonstrated, the evidence shows the fluid but complicated nature of theriomorphism in various ways. It reveals theriomorphism's dual and liminal aspects, which may serve to distinguish the identity of the hybrid, and, in the case of gods and their followers, may reveal the close, complex relationship between humans, animals, and nature. In the next chapter, Chapter 4, I provide a synthesis the data presented in thesis with concluding remarks.

[399] Parke 1967, 32.

CHAPTER 4: CONCUSIONS

This thesis has analyzed terrestrial theriomorphic beings diachronically in art, literature, and archaeological contexts. The unique approach of this thesis to focus on terrestrial beings has allowed me to provide an in-depth analysis of 13 consistently theriomorphic terrestrial hybrids and iconography (Chapter 2), but also examine it as part of the greater picture of Greek theriomorphism as a whole (Chapter 3). In doing so, it has made significant contributions to the studies of Greek archaeology, religion, and theriomorphism. Appendix A is the first publication of cult sites to theriomorphic deities presented in a chart format that makes this data more accessible and allows it to be more thoroughly examined than ever before. Maps accompany this data to show concentrations. I provide an interdisciplinary overview of (terrestrial) theriomorphism in the Bronze Age for the first time, showing that there is a connection to later Greek culture and religion. Finally, this thesis strengthens the argument that animals were an essential aspect of Greek life, especially in religious contexts.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates that terrestrial theriomorphism was complicated in Greek culture and religion. Although we may never fully understand the values, symbolisms, or ways in which theriomorphic beings were revered, there are specific observations that can be made.

The earliest theriomorphic images in Greece proper appear on EM seals from Crete, such as a seated monkey-human from Ayia Triada Tholos A (*CMS* II1.20) and bird-human from Lebena Tholos IIa (*CMS* II1.216). The limited evidence for sphragistics from these periods and the holes that are on the heads of the figures indicate that these types of seals wear primarily worn on the body as a form of social identity and

differentiation. Later seals with terrestrial theriomorphic figures from the LM and LH periods also showcase identity both as adornments on the body and as part of the so-called Multiple Sealing System. Many of the hybrids on these seals are recognizable, such as the Minoan Genius, man-bull, and centaurs and are often associated with religious symbols. This indicates that not only animals, but fantastic ones, were important in Minoan and Mycenaean cultures and religions, like in the later Greek historic period. The Minoan Genius, in particular, shows the evolution of an Egyptian figure (the god Twaeret), onto Minoan Crete and then the Mycenaean Argolid as an animal-human hybrid attendant. The only terrestrial hybrid that appears continuously from the Bronze Age and into the EIA is the centaur. This fact has never been highlighted before in a publication on Greek theriomorphism. Although Apollo Kereatas, Apollo Karneios, and Demeter Melaina almost certainly have much older origins in myth and literature, there is not enough evidence to support Bronze Age inception.

As for the other hybrids, Table 2 (p. 70) shows their earliest extant evidence in literature, at sanctuaries, and in iconography. Most of the first instances for each hybrid takes place in the Archaic period, just prior and during the Orientalizing period (700-600). Cheiron (unless he is the 10th century centaur at Lefkandi), Acheloos, satyrs, and the figurines from Tegea and Petrovouni appear in the 8th century, Kekrops in the 7th century, and Pan in the 6th century. It is difficult to determine if the beings existed prior to these dates; it is possible that there is either no evidence or they were reintroduced in the Archaic period.

It is not a coincidence that the times which have heightened instances of theriomorphism in Greece, during the EBA, LBA, and Archaic periods, are when Greece

seems to have had more contact with other parts of the Mediterranean. The effects that these cultural interactions had on theriomorphism, however, is difficult to determine. The only safely identifiable connection is the appropriation of the centaur from Assyria in the Bronze Age. Mesopotamians and Phoenicians did have theriomorphic gods and demons, but their iconography and lore is not the same as in Greece. Egypt had zoocephalic gods, but as noted, the Egyptians did not worship or view their gods like the Greeks. Although the Cypriots had numerous ram and bull gods and cults, it is difficult to identify specific connections with Greek theriomorphic beings, except maybe for Apollo Kereatas.

In Greece, the data from Appendix A and evidence from Chapter 2 show that the geographical distribution of terrestrial theriomorphism is concentrated in both rural and urban centers. Arcadia, especially in the southwestern region, has a considerably large quantity of apparent evidence for theriomorphism. I attribute this large number to the rural and relatively more remote mountianous landscape and pastoralist lifestyle of the region. It seems that theriomorphism manifested, probably a long time ago, on account of the Arcadians' desire to connect to nature and animals for survival and to maintain their long-held traditions and personal and regional identities. Similarly, in urban centers, such as Athens, theriomorphism also relates to identity and foundation myths as well as the want to associate with nature and animals. This connection, however, often occurs in a more general sense, as shown by the adoption of Pan and Acheloos outside of their original birthplaces. Caves and grottos provide the perfect retreat to worship and connect to these liminal beings.

As for iconography, the diachronic analysis of the 13 hybrids and figures shows that there are evolutionary trends, but there are also many regional variances and different

ways to represent a terrestrial hybrid. Some focus on more anthropomorphic features (e.g., Pan), while others barely change (e.g., Zeus Ammon) or have few extant examples at all (e.g., Demeter Melaina, Apollo Kereatas, Apollo Karneios). This evidence shows that the ancients were considering the dynamics of what it means to be human and animal or tame and savage in varying personal and regional ways. Sometimes the animal attribute (horse, goat and sheep, bull, and snake) can reveal aspects of a hybrid's personality or religious domain (e.g., Pan), but sometimes it does not (e.g., Zeus Ammon). Often the animal attributes are deliberate and better align a theriomorphic being to a particular location, heritage, landscape, or animal.

Synthesizing the material presented in Chapter 2 and the first sections of Chapter 3 into thematic groupings (i.e., transformation (masks), liminality, plurality and parings, and prophecy and wisdom) allows the reader to see, in a different format, the numerous ways in which theriomorphism is part of Greek culture and religion. Together these show the dualistic, liminal, fluid, and complex nature of theriomorphism. For instance, hybrids are associated with the idea of transformation and metamorphosis, which is highlighted through my discussion of masks. Masks, and possibly theriomorphic ones, appear as early as the Neolithic period. They are paradoxical (i.e., they are mobile through the process of transformation but immobile in representation) through the process of literal or metaphoric communication. This concept is similar to theriomorphic figures, in that these hybrids, through their own transformations and unique appearances, especially around the face, have a special connection between human, the divine, and animals. Terrestrial hybrids are liminal, meaning that they can dance on the boundaries of what it means to be human and animal in terms of their personality, appearance, and locations of cult

worship. In addition, often terrestrial hybrids appear in groups or parings. Typically, the groups consist of hybrid species (centaurs, satyrs, and Panes), but they also appear in a Dionysian *thaisos* as attendings to the metamorphic god. As for the theriomorphic gods who appear in parings (Zeus Akraios and Cheiron at Pelion in Thessaly, Zeus Lykaios and Pan at Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia, and Zeus Naios and Acheloos at Dodona in Epirus), I suggest that the parings reveal an aspiration of the native peoples to establish a unique, major sanctuary that highlights their own theriomorphic gods. As for prophecy and wisdom, it appears to be a distinguishing factor of several terrestrial theriomorphic beings, including Cheiron, Pan, and Zeus Ammon. I argue that oracular powers and distinguished wisdom only emphasize the argument that terrestrial hybrids allowed for an enhanced communication between the earthly (human and animal) and divine realms.

While studies of human connections with animals are becoming more prolific, there are many more avenues for further research, especially in the ancient Mediterranean, that have arisen from this thesis. These include case studies of terrestrial and aerial theriomorphic beings, monsters, Neolithic and Bronze Age theriomorphism, shape-shifters/metamorphists, and theriomorphic masks.

I hope this thesis encourages and inspires readers to pursue academic studies in creative ways, to embrace research that has more regional and personal variance, and to explore topics that concern religion and personal beliefs as well as less published regions of Greece.

FIGURES

Chapter 1

Figure 1.3.d.1. Map of Greek Regions. (Google).

Chapter 2

2.1.a. Centaurs

Figure 2.2.a.1. Impression of Cylinder Seal with Lahmu and Centaur. Provenance unknown, Middle Assyrian, mid-late 13th century, rose quartz. (Padget 2003, 131-133).

Figure 2.1.a.2. Mycenean Centaur. Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Syria, Mycenean, 13th century, terracotta. (Shear 2002, pl. 3 (a-c)).

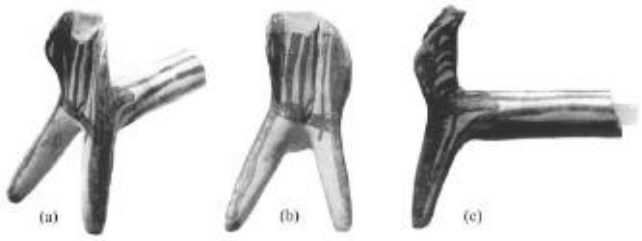


Figure 2.1.a.3. Mycenean Centaur. Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Syria, Mycenean, 13th century, terracotta. (Shear 2002, pl. 3 (e-f)).

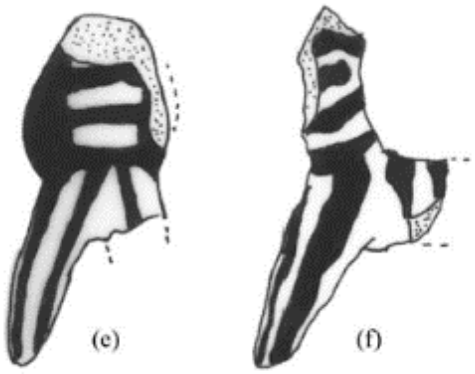


Figure 2.1.a.4. Mycenaean bull figurine. Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Syria, Mycenean, 13th century, terracotta. (Shear 2002, pl. 3 (d)).

Figure 2.1.a.5. Gem with two centaurs. Prosymna, Argolid, Mycenaean, LHIII, stone. (Nilsson 1971, 37, fig. 4).

Figure 2.1.a.6. Centaur. Lefkandi, Euboea, mid-10th-century (Protogeometric), terracotta. (Padgett 2003, 8, fig. 3).

Figure 2.1.a.7. Centaur Group. Olympia?, Attica, ca. 750, bronze. (Padgett 2003, 137).

2.1.b. Cheiron

Figure 2.2.b.1. François Vase, black-figure volute krater, signed by Ergotimos and Kleitias. Greek, Attic, ca. 570. Scene: Cheiron (left) at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. (Google).

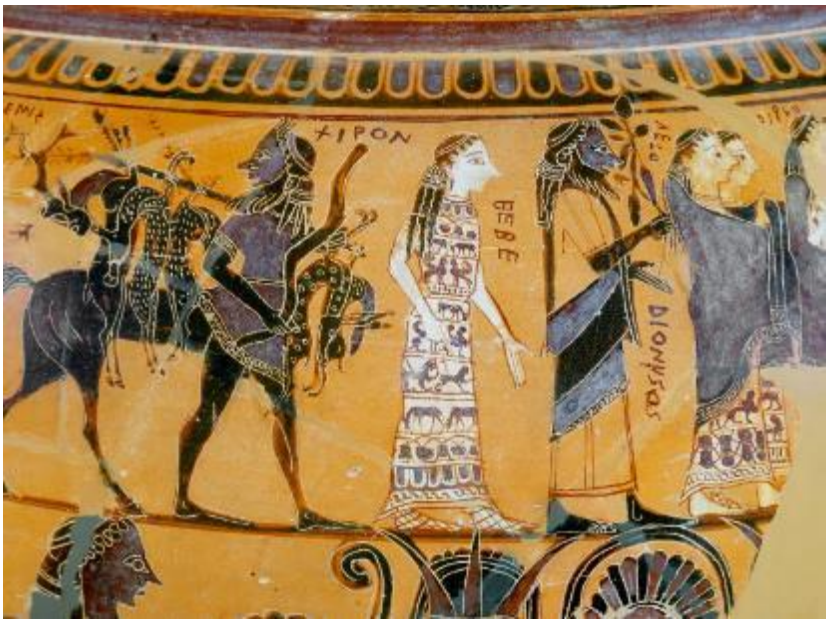
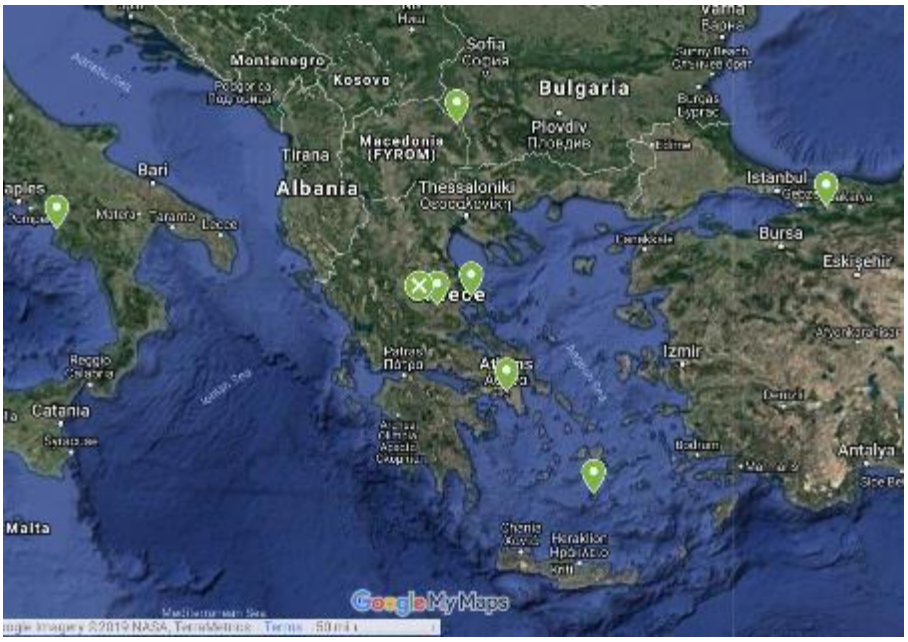


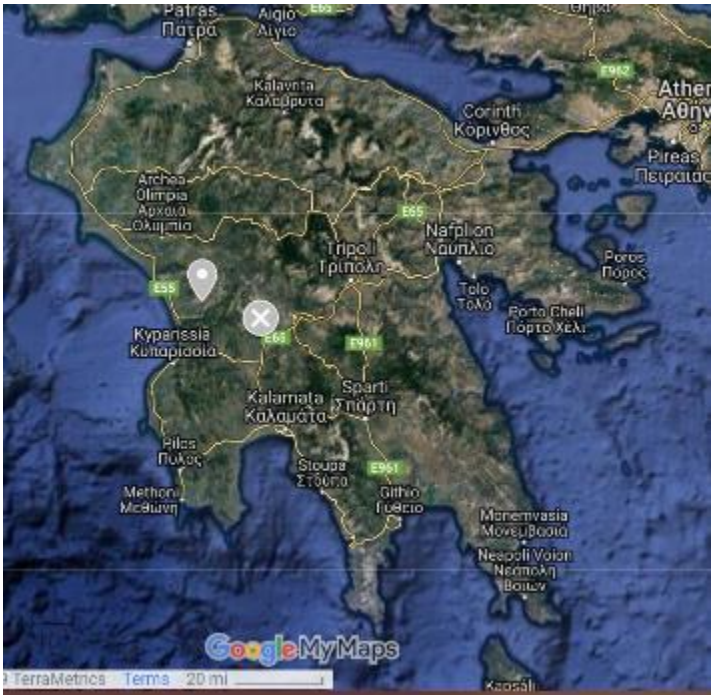
Figure 2.2.b.2. Attic Red Figure, Bell Krater, attributed to the Eurpolis Painter. Greek, Attica, ca. 440-430, Scene: Wedding of Cheiron to nymph Chariklo. (Padgett 2003b, cat. 35).

Figure 2.1.b.3. Map of cult centers of worship to Cheiron (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).



2.1.c. Demeter Melaina

Figure 2.1.c. 1. Map of cult centers of worship to Demeter Melaina (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).



2.1.d. Satyrs

Figure 2.1.d.1. Krater. Greek, Protoattic, mid-7th century. Scene: bearded figure wielding stones (proto-satyr?). (Padgett 2003, 30, fig. 25.)

Figure 2.1.d.2. François Vase, black-figure volute krater, signed by Ergotimos and Kleitias. Greek, Attic, ca. 570. Scene: Return of Hephaistos with satyr. (Padgett 2003, 29, fig. 24.)

Figure 2.1.d.3. Fragment of a black figure dinos, attributed to Sophilos. Greek, Attica, ca. 580. Scene: Satyrs with kantharos. (Padgett 2003, cat. 53)

Figure 2.1.d.4. Red-figure hydria, attributed to the Leningrad Painter. Attic, ca. 470-460. Scene: Satyr actors. (Padgett 2003, 29, fig. 26.)

2.2.a Pan

Figure 2.2.a.1. Goat ex-votos from Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta. Laconian, 7th century, lead. (See Dawkins, 1929, 262; 269; Taf. 184, 19; 189, 23-24; 194, 24).

Figure 2.2.a.2. Pan Figurine. Arcadia, 5th century, bronze. (Boardman 1998, 30, fig. 34).

Figure 2.2.a.3. Head of Pan as terminal of caduceus. Athenian Akropolis, Attica, 5th century, bronze. (Boardman 1998, 30, fig. 35).

Figure 2.2.a.4. Fragment of a black figure volute krater. Attic, ca. 490. Scene: Pan playing flute at symposium. (Boardman 1998, 28, fig. 30).

Figure 2.2.a.5. Red figure bell krater, by Pan Painter. Attic, ca. 470. Scene: Pan chasing Daphnis. (Boardman 1998, 29, fig. 33).

Figure 2.2.a.6. Red figure pelike, Attic, Greek, ca. 450. (*LIMC* "Pan").

Figure 2.2.a.7 Nymph Relief of Pan playing syrinx. Varia, Attic, late 5th century, limestone. (Thallon 1903).

Figure 2.2.a.8. Arcadian League Coin. Megalopolis, Arcadia, early 4th century, Reverse of silver stater (Boardman 1998, 31, fig. 37).

Figure 2.2.a.9 Pan Figurine Dancing, Olympia, Elis, Greek, 5th century, bronze. (Boardman 1998, 30, fig. 36).

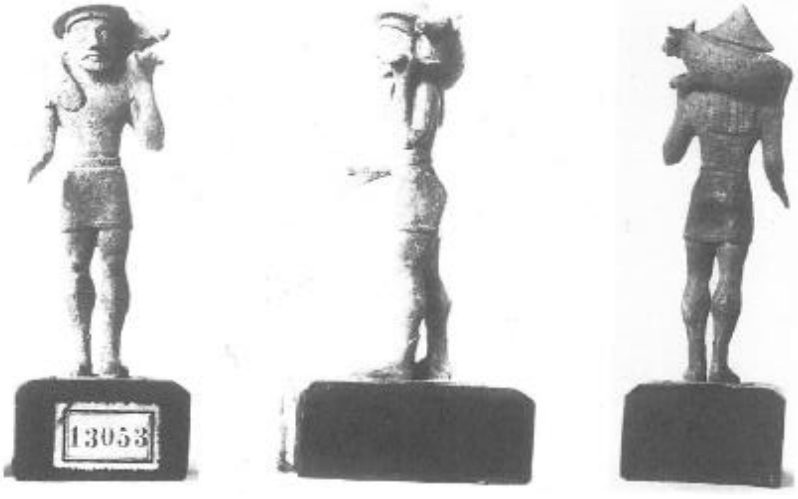
Figure 2.2.a.10 (a-b). Map of cult centers of worship to Pan (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

a)

b) Map detail of Greece.

Figure. 2.2.a.11. Bronze Shepherd with lamb and basket of offerings. Berekla, Arcadian, 5th century, bronze. (Lamb 1925-6).

Figure 2.2.a.12 (a-b). Apollo Nomios. Berekla (probable), Arcadian, 6th century, bronze. (Hübinger 1992, 197, fig. 9-11; Google).

a) 

b) 

Figure 2.2.a.13. Hermes ("Nomios"). Berekla (probable), Arcadian, 5th century, bronze. (Hübinger 1992, 195, figs. 4-6).

2.2.b. Apollo Kereatas

Figure 2.2.b.1. Map of Aigytus territory on Arcadian and Laconian borders. (Roy 2009, 206, fig. 21.6).

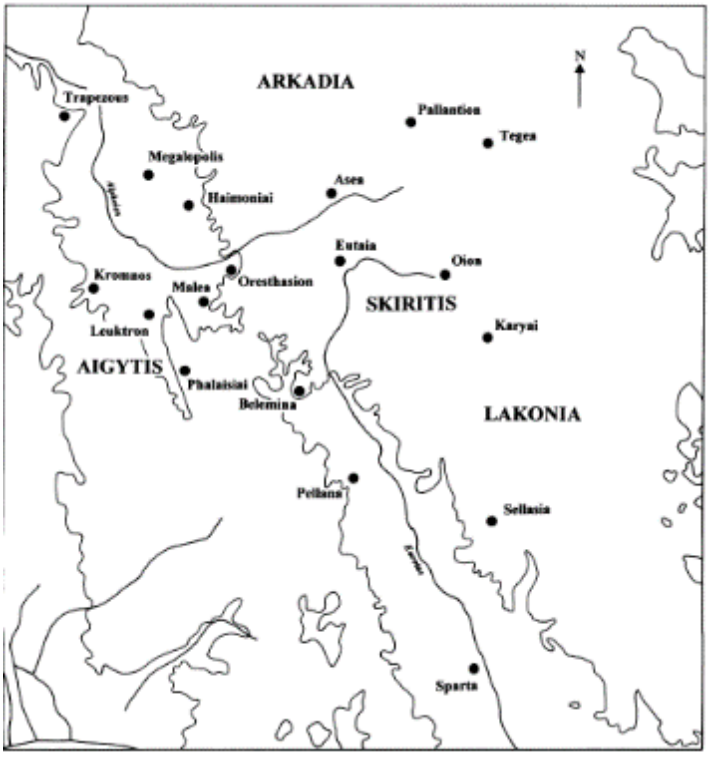


Figure 2.2.b.2. Map of cult centers of worship to Apollo Kereatas (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

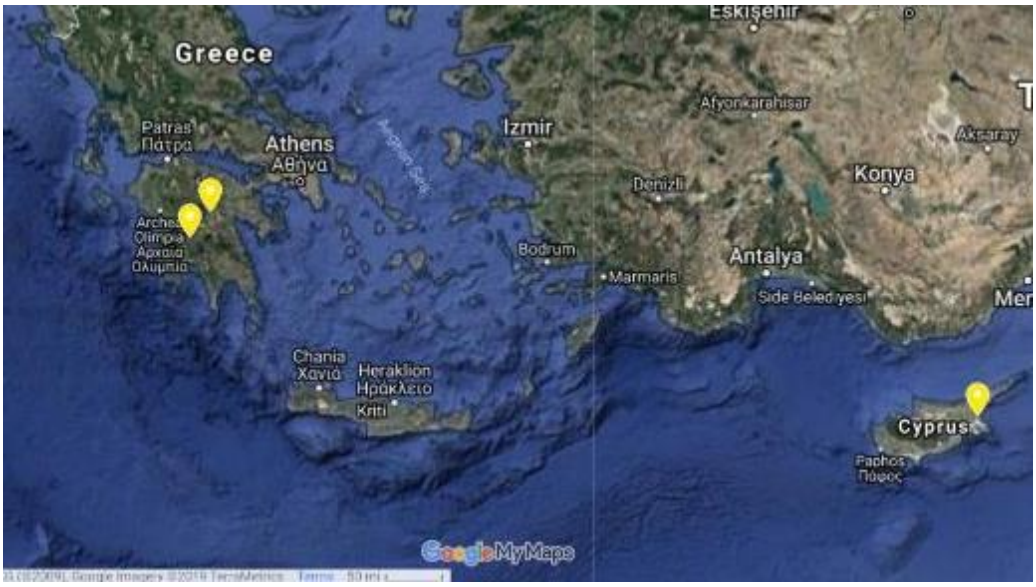


Figure 2.2.b.3. Horned God (?). Cypriot, Enkomi, Cyprus, 12th century, bronze. (Wikipedia).

2.2.c Apollo Karneios

Figure 2.3.c.1 (a-b). Map of cult centers of worship to Apollo Karneios (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

a)

b) Detail of Peloponnese.

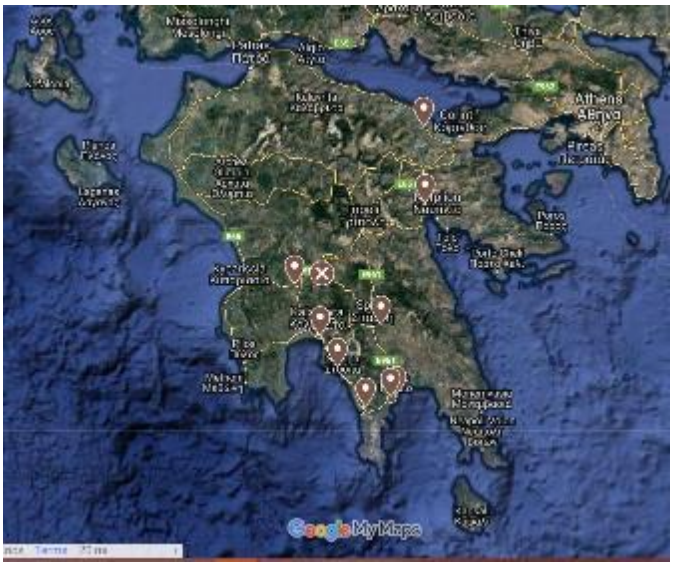


Figure 2.2.c.2. Coin. Greek, Cyrene, Libya, 4th century. (*LIMC* "Apollo" cat. no. 3).

Figure 2.2.c.3. Ram-headed herm. Passava near Gytheion, Laconia, unknown date, stone. (Malkin 1994, 153).

2.2.d Zeus Ammon

Figure 2.2.d.1. Statuette of Zeus Ammon. Greek, Temple of Apollo at Cyrene, Libya, 3rd century. (*LIMC* "Ammon" cat. no. 7).

Figure 2.2.d.2. Coin. Greek, Cyrene, Libya, 520-480. (*LIMC* “Ammon” cat. no. 99).

Figure 2.2.d.3. Relief of ram-headed Amun-Ra. Egyptian, Shrine of King Taharqa, Kawa, Egypt, 690-664. (Ashmolean Museum).

Figure 2.2.d.4. Map of cult centers of worship to Zeus Ammon (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

2.3.a. Acheloos

Figure 2.3.a.1 (a-b). Black figure Siana Cup, attributed to the Painter of Boston C.A. Attica, Greek, ca. 560-545. Scene: Hercules fighting Acheloos (a) and Circe with Odysseys' men transforming (b). (Padgett 2003b, cat. no. 93).

a)  b) 

Figure 2.3.a.2 (a-b). Statuette of Acheloos. Greek, probably from South Italy, early 5th century, bronze. (Padgett 2003b, cat. no. 92).

a)  b) 

Figure 2.3.a.3. Map of cult centers of worship to Acheloos (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

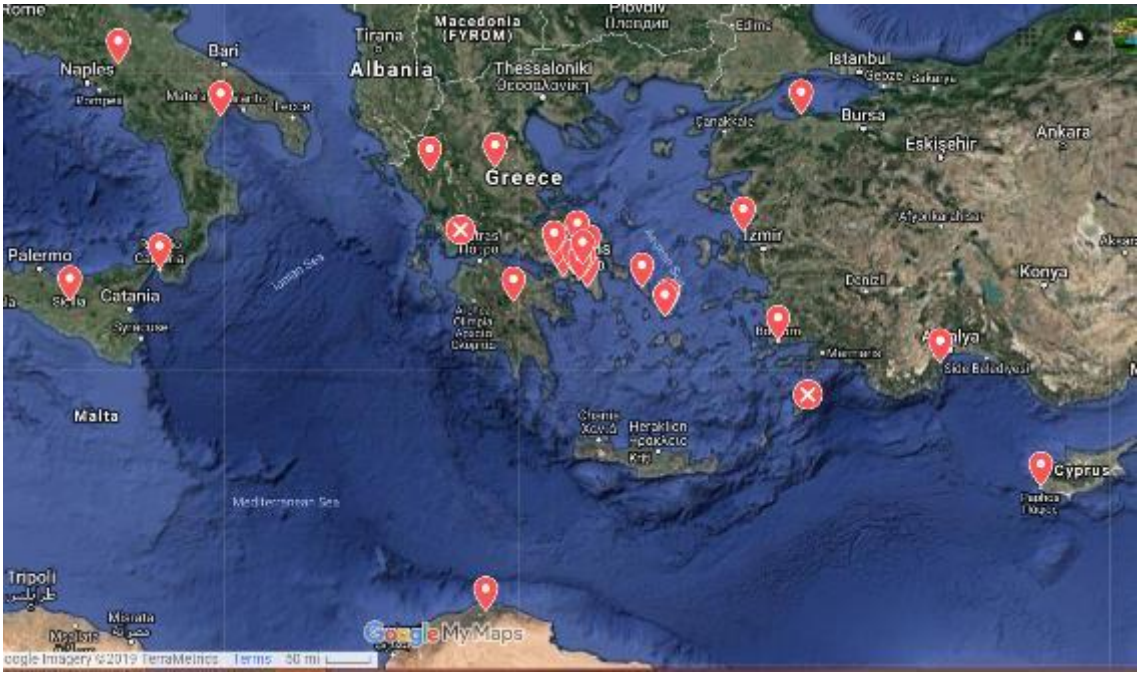
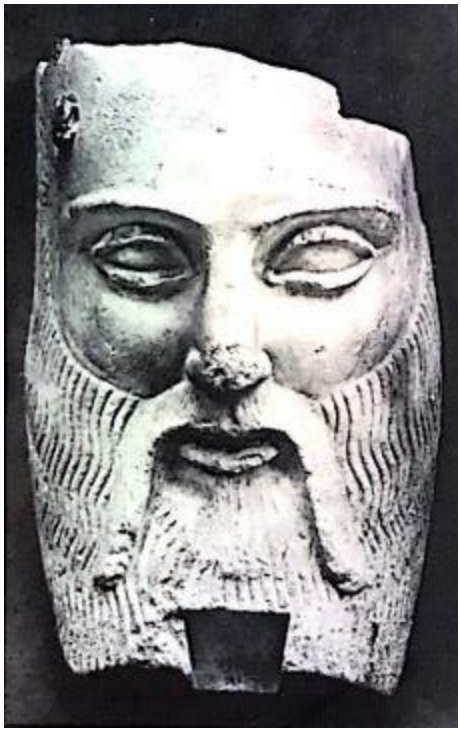


Figure 2.3.a.4. Acheloos nymph relief. Attica, mid-4th century, marble. (*LIMC* "Acheloos" cat. no. 173).

Figure 2.3.a.5. Acheloos Mask. Marathon, Attica, around 470, marble. (*LIMC* "Acheloos" cat. no. 80).



2.3.b Minotaur

Figure 2.3.b.1. Minotaur from studded tripod cauldron. Attic, 8th century. (Louve).

Figure 2.3.b.2. Black figure hydria, attributed to the Leagros Group. Attic, ca. 510. Scene: Theseus fighting the Minotaur (shoulder) and Herakles struggling with a monster (Acheloos?). (Tsiafakis 2003, 92, fig. 17).

2.4.a. Kekrops

Figure 2.4.a.1. Red Figure rhyton in sphinx stand. Attic, ca. 460/50. (*LIMC* "Kekrops" cat. no. 16).

Figure 2.4.a.2. Map of cult centers of worship to Kekrops (See Appendix A). (Map by author, Google Maps).

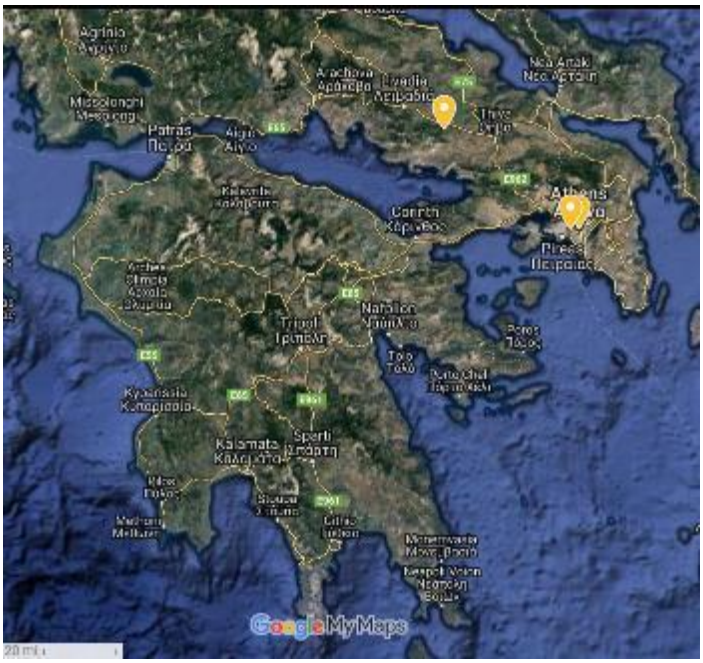


Figure 2.4.a.3. Reconstructed plan of the Erechtheion (Monuments to Kekrops are B and C). (Gerding 2014, 252, fig. 1).

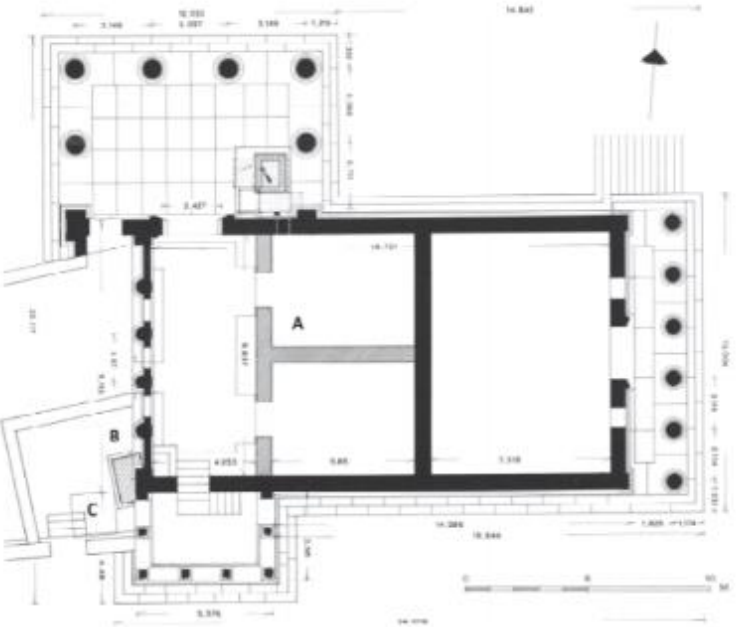
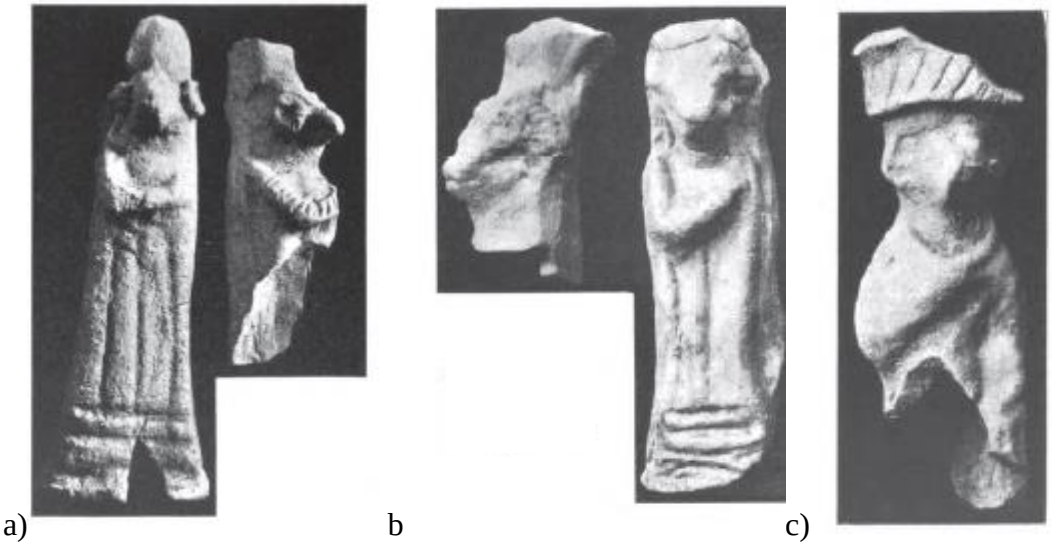


Fig. 1. Reconstructed plan of the Erechtheion. A. Hypothetical arrangement of the western cross-wall and longitudinal partition wall. B. Location of the Early Classical monument of Kekrops according to G.P. Stevens. C. Traces of the Late Archaic monument of Kekrops according to M. Korres. (Modified from Travlos 1971a, fig. 280).

2.5.a Other Theriomorphic Iconography

Figure 2.5.a.1 (a-c). Theriomorphic votives. Megaron at Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, Arcadia, Greek, 4th century BCE – 2nd century CE, terracotta, 15 cm h. (Kournioties 1912).



a) b c)

Figure Fig. 2.5.a.2. Reconstruction of veil fragment from cult statue of Despoina. Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, Arcadia, Greek, 2nd century BCE – 2nd century CE, marble. (Wikipedia).

Figure 2.5.a.3 (a-b). Theriomorphic iconography from veil of cult statue of Despoina, Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, Arcadia, Greek, 2nd century BCE – 2nd century CE, marble. (Jost 1985, pl. 45, figs. 1-2).

a)  b) 

Figure 2.5.b.1. Bear-human hybrid. Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea Arcadia, 8th century, bronze, H. 0.046m. (Voyatzis 1985, 304, pl. 58).

Figure 2.5.b.2. Seated quasi-human figure (?). Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea Arcadia, Greek, 800-725, bronze, H 0.049m. (Voyatzis 1985, 303; pl. 54, fig. 27).

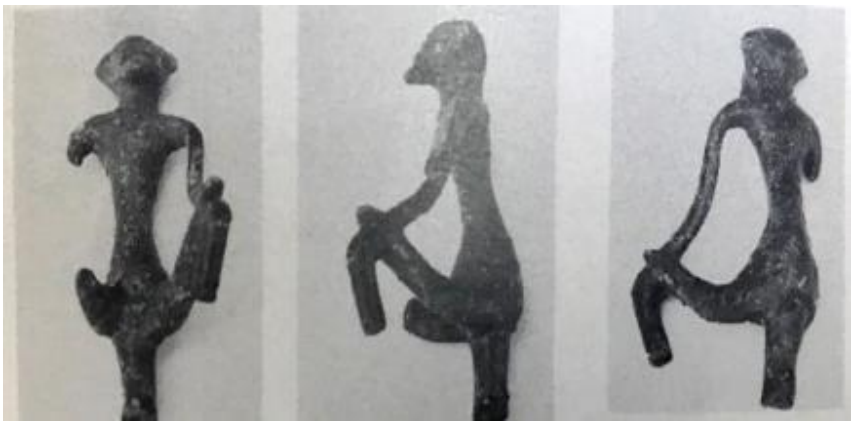


Figure 2.5.b.3. Seated male figure (bear-human hybrid?). Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea Arcadia, 8th century, bronze. (See Voyatzis, 1985, 305, pl. 61, fig. 27).

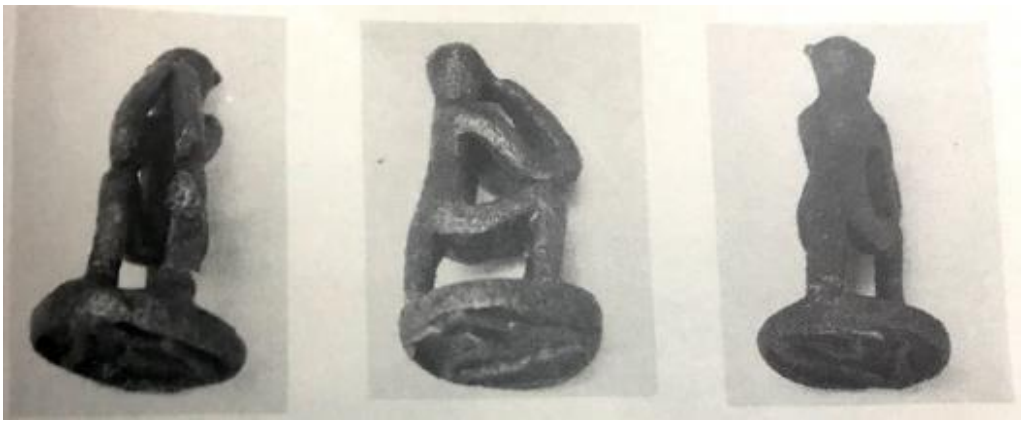


Figure 2.5.c.1 (a-b). Ithyphallic dancers with horseheads or masks. Petrovouni (west of Methydrion), Arcadia, Geometric, 8th century, bronze. (Voyatzis 1985, 282, pl. 65).

a)  b) 

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1.a.1 (a-b). Early Palatial Theriomorphic Seals: a) seated monkey-man from Aiga Triada Tholos A, and b) Bird-man from Lebena Tholos IIa. Views of seals and their engraved faces. Minoan EM, Ivory. (Anderson 2016, 75, fig. 2.5).

a)  b) 

Figure 3.1.a.2. Impression of the “Minotaur Seal.” Knossos, Minoan, LM, stone. (Nilsson 1971, 373, fig. 181).

Figure 3.1.a.3 (a-b). Gem seals with stag-men. Knossos, Minoan, LM, stone. (Nilsson 1971, 375, figs. 182 and 183).

a)  b) 

Figure 3.1.a.4. Signet Ring with Minoan Genii. Tiryns, Mycenean, LH, gold. (Rehak 1995, 225 fig. 7).

Figure 3.1.a.5. Wall painting fragment. Mycenae, Mycenaean, LH, fresco. (Wikipedia).

Figure 3.2.a.1. Map legend.

Figure 3.2.a.2. Map of cult sites to terrestrial theriomorphic gods in the ancient Mediterranean (Map by author, Google Maps).

Figure 3.2.a.3. Map detail of Greece. (Map by author, Google Maps).

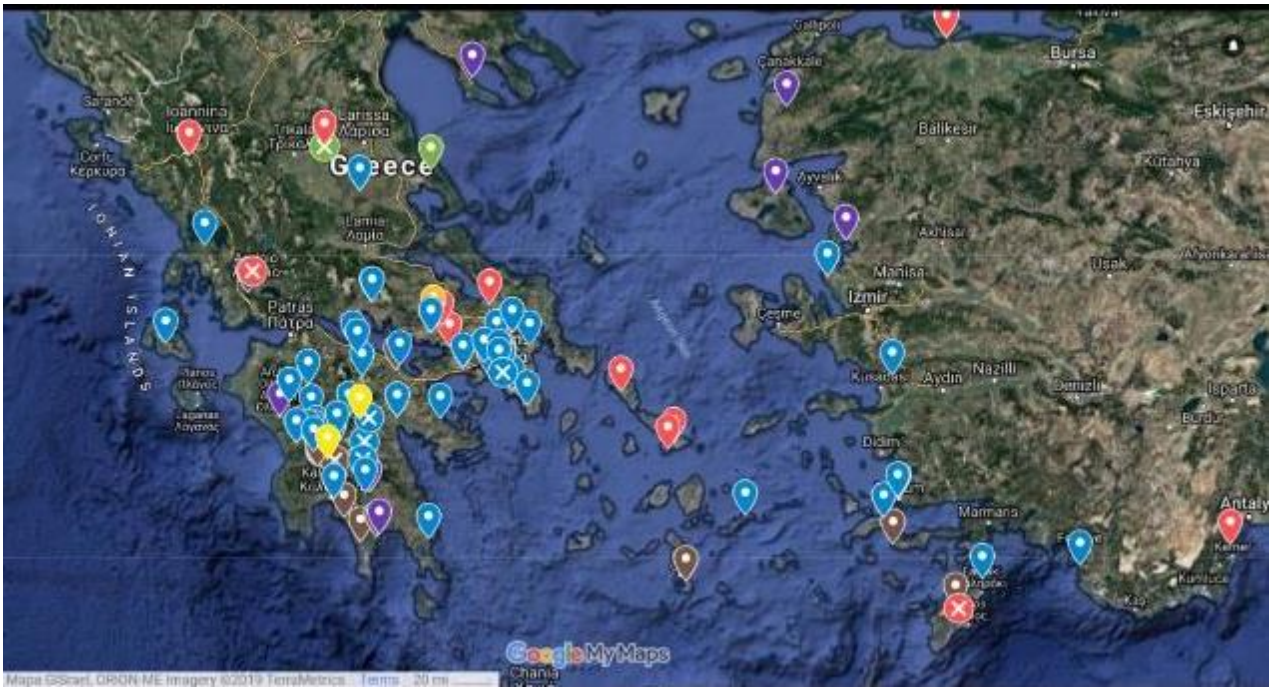


Figure 3.2.a.5. Map detail of Attica and Peloponnese. (Map by author, Google Maps).

Figure 3.4.a.1. Mask and phallic stand. Neolithic (ca. 6000), Achilleion, Thessaly, terracotta. (Gimbutas 1984, 61, fig. 18).

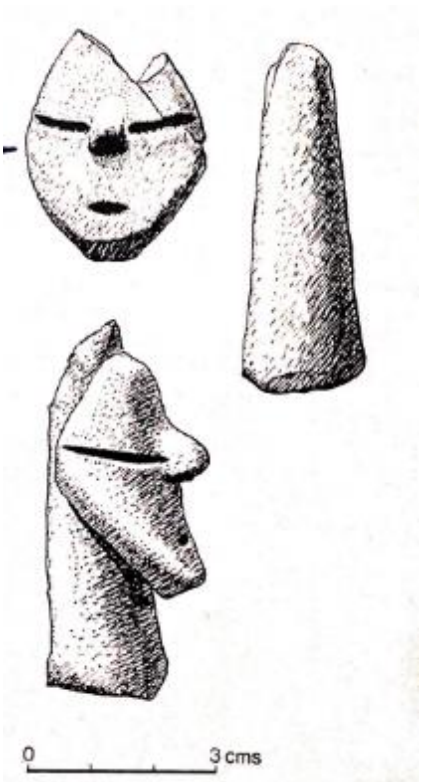


Figure 3.4.a.2. Clay protome, so-called half-human and half-animal. Agios Georgios 2, Neolithic, MN, terracotta. (Toufexis 2003, 263, fig. 29.4).

Figure 3.4.a.3. Clay protome, so-called human mask with theriomorphic features. Agios Georgios 3, Neolithic, MN, terracotta. (Toufexis 2003, 263, fig. 29.5).

Figure 3.4.a.4. Cult statue. Cult complex at Mycenae, Mycenean, LH. (Rutowski 1986, 178, fig. 260).

Figure 3.4.a.5. Cult images. Cult complex at Mycenae, Mycenean, LH. (Archaeological Museum at Mycenae website).

Figure 3.4.a.6. Satyr Mask (Type E. ii). Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta, 7th – 6th century. (Dawkins 1929, pl. LVI, fig. 1).

Figure 3.4.a.7. Attic black figure belly amphora, by the Painter of Berlin 1686. 6th century Greek, terracotta. Scene: Chorus of horsemen dancing to a flute. (Napier 1986, 55, fig. 15).

Figure 3.4.a.8. Priest wearing bull's mask. Ayia Irini, Cyprus, Cypriot, terracotta. (Karageorghis 1971, 265, fig. 2a-b).

Figure 3.4.b.1 Map of sanctuaries to Pan (blue), Apollo Kereatas (yellow), and Apollo Karneios (brown). (Map by author, Google Maps).

APPENDIX A: SITES OF CULT WORSHIP

	Location	Region[400]	Date	Evidence	Category of Evidence[401]
HORSE					
Cheiron					
1.	Near temple of Apollo Karneios (near cave) on Thera	Cyclades	7th century	*IG* XII, 3 360	A
2.	Pella	Macedonia	-	Monimos at Clem. Al. *prot.* 42, 2: mentions human sacrifices	L
3.	Posidonia at Paestum	Magna Graecia	unknown	Boundary stone (See Guarducci, M., *NotSc* 1948, 185-192)	A
4.	Cave near Pharsalos in Phthia on spur of Mt. Othrys	Thessaly	4th century	*SEG* I 248: associated with Pan, Hermes, Herakles, Asklepios, Hygeia (See Giannopoulos 1912, 1919)	A
5.	Cave on summit of Mt. Pelion near Temple to Zeus Akraios	Thessaly	Hellenistic	Heraklides 2.8: associated with Zeus	L
6.	(unknown)	Thessaly	2nd and 1st centuries	Coins: League of the Magnets (*LIMC* "Cheiron," Cat. 3, 12); Plut. *Quaest. Conv*. 647 *A*	C, L
7.	Bithynia	Thrace	180-149	Coin (*LIMC* "Cheiron," Cat. 4)	C
Demeter Melaina					
1.	Cave on Mt. Elaius near Phigalia	Arcadia	unknown	Paus. 8.42 (not discovered)	L
2.	Lykosoura?	Arcadia	unknown	Paus 8.37.1; cult statue of Demeter, altar	L, A?
GOAT AND RAM					
Pan					
1.	Anaktorion	Acarnania	4th century	Coins: Athena with Pan (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
2.	Aigale on Amorgos	Cyclades	4th century	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
3.	Caria	Anatolia	437-400	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
4.	Lykia	Anatolia	4th century	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C

[400] The chart is ordered alphabetically by region.
[401] A= Archaeological evidence, C = Coins, and L = Literary Evidence.

Pan (continued)					
5.	Epidaurus	Argolid	1st century	Inscription (See Cavvadias, *Fouilles d' Epidauros*, no. 56)	A
6.	Mt. Cyllene	Arcadia	-	Soph., *Ajax*, 695; *Anlh. Palat.*, 6. 96	L
7.	Heraia	Arcadia	Late 6th – early 5th century	Coins; square *baldacchinio* found (See Broucke 1990); Paus. 8.26.2	A
8.	Mt. Lykaion	Arcadia	unknown	Paus. 8.38.5: Lower sanctuary (not discovered)	L
9.	Berekla	Arcadia	6th to 4th century	*IG* V^2 556-7; ex-votos; Paus. 8.41.3 (See Broucke 1990 and Kournioties 1902)	A
10.	Mt. Nomia	Arcadia	-	Paus. 3.38.11 (not discovered)	L
11.	Bassai	Arcadia	Last quarter of 5th century	*IG* V^2 429; ex-votos; Paus. 8.30.2-3; 39.3-5; 41-42.7-9 (See Cooper 1965)	A, L
12.	Cave of Demeter Melaina at Phigalia	Arcadia	-	Paus. 8.43.4 (not discovered)	L
13.	Likokhia	Arcadia	Classical-Hellenistic	Ex-votos (See Cardete 2016 and Jost 1985)	A
14.	Megalopolis	Arcadia	5th century	Coins: youthful Pan (Jost 1985, pl. 63, figs. 3-5); *IG* V^2 451-452; bronze statue in sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios; relieved table in Great Goddess sanctuary in Agora; Paus. 8.30.3, 6; 8.36.8	A, L, C
15.	Lykosoura	Arcadia	4th century	*IG* V^2 2.530; Statue in sanctuary; colonnades found; Paus. 8.37.11	A, L
16.	Peraitheis	Arcadia	Abandoned by 2nd century CE	Paus. 8.36.7 (not discovered)	L
17.	On Chysovitsi road from Tegea to Thurea (Tegea area)	Arcadia	-	Paus. 8.54.11 (not discovered)	L
18.	On road from Tegea to Laconia (Tegea area)	Arcadia	-	Paus. 8.53.11: Next to sacred oak tree (not discovered)	L

Pan (continued)					
19.	On road from Mt. Mainalon and Megalopolis	Arcadia	-	Paus 8.36.8 (not discovered)	L
20.	Mt. Parthenin (connects Tegea and Argos)	Arcadia	5th century	Paus. 8.54.7 (not discovered)	L
21.	Mt. Lampeia in Psophis	Arcadia		Coin (Jost 1985, pl. 7, fig. 5); Paus. 8.24.4 (not discovered)	L
22.	Megara	Attica	5th century	Votive reliefs (See Borgeaud 1988, 96, n. 46); Poly. 20.6.12	A
23.	Cave on NW Side of Acropolis at Athens	Attica	5th century	Coin: cave with Acropolis from Antonine period; Eurip. *Ion*, 501	C
24.	Cave near Ilissos River at Athens	Attica	5th century	Plat. *Phaedr*. 279 B	L
25.	Cave at "Lychnospilia" on Mount Parnes	Attica		(See Cardette 2016)	A
26.	N/NE Hill of Marathon	Attica	1st century	*SEG* 51-188; Paus. 1.32.7	A, L
27.	"Cave of the Nympholept" or "Cave of Archedamos" at Vari on Mount Hymettos,	Attica	5th century	*CIA* I. 429; Strab. P.398	A, L
28.	Psyttaleia island	Attica	-	Paus. 1.36.2 (not discovered)	L
29.	Sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropos	Attica	5th century	Paus. 1.34.3 (not discovered)	L
30.	Cave on west hill at Eleusis	Attica	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
31.	Cave at Piraeus	Attica	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
32.	Cave on Mt. Pentilicus	Attica	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
33.	Cave at Daphni	Attica	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
34.	Cave at Anaflisto	Attica	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
35.	Thebes	Boeotia	5th century	(See Cardete 2016)	A
36.	Sikyon	Corinthia	-	Paus. 2.10.2 (not discovered)	L
37.	Kos	Dodecanese		Inscription (See *BCH* 1881, 199); Schol. Theocr. 7.130	A

Pan (continued)					
38.	Rhodes	Dodecanese	n.d.	*CIG* I, n. 24	A
39.	Alexandria	Egypt	Hellenistic	(Farnell 1896-1909)	A
40.	Altis of Olympia	Elis	5th century	Ex-voto; Paus. 5.15.6, 8, 9	A, L
41.	Apollonia	Illyria	Hellenistic	Poly. 5.110.1; Str. 7.5.8 (See *BCH* 1907)	A, L
42.	Phokaia	Ionia	4th century	Coins: youthful Pan (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
43.	Ephesos	Ionia	unknown	Altar with Pan carved in relief (Brit. Mus.1270)	A
44.	Melissani Cave on Cephalonia	Ionian Islands	5th century	(See Borgeaud 1988, 48 n.9)	A
45.	Sparta	Laconia	5th century	Effigy: (Boardman 1998)	C
46.	Aigai	Macedonia	392-390	Coins of young Pan (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
47.	Pella	Macedonia	2nd century	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
48.	Thessalonika	Macedonia	2nd century	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
49.	Temple? on Krathis River	Magna Graecia	-	Philostephanos, Frag. 25	L
50.	Pandosia	Magna Graecia	c. 400	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
51.	Salapia	Magna Graecia		Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
52.	Pharai	Messenia		(See Zunino 1997, 207-209)	A
53.	Messana	Sicily	420-396	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
54.	Banias/Caesarea Philippi	Palestine	Hellenistic	*C.I.G*. 4537	A
55.	Delphi: Parnassus (the Corycian Cave)	Phokis	3rd century	Inscription; Paus. 10.32.7 (See *BCH* Suppl. 9 1984 esp. 411; see also the preliminary reports by Amandry and J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95 1971, 771-76; Amandry, *BCH* 96 1972, 906-09.	A
56.	Pharsalos	Thessaly	5th century	Reliefs (See Wagman 2015)	A
57.	Artificial grotto in Akropolis	Thasos	4th century	Reliefs (See P. Devambrez. 1976. “La ‘grotte de Pan’ a Thasos,” in *Me langes d’histoire ancienne et d’archelogie offerts a Paula Collart, Chiers d’archelogie romande*, 5. Lausanne, 117-23.)	A

Pan (continued)					
58.	Ainos	Thrace	5th century and 4th century	Coins; Pan on relief (Borgeaud)	A, C
59.	Pantikapaion	Pontus region	4th century	Coins: bearded Pan; youthful Pan (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
60.	Phanagoria	Pontus region	3rd century	Coins (Farnell 1896-1909)	C
Apollo Kereatas					
1.	Mantineia	Arcadia	-	Paus. 8.32.3 (not discovered)	L
2.	Aigytis region	Arcadia	-	Paus. 8.34.5 (not discovered)	L
3.	Enkomi?	Cyprus	12th century	Inscription; statuette (see Jost 1985, 482, n. 9.)	A
Apollo Karneios					
1.	Knidos	Anatolia	160-150	*GDI* 3527	A
2.	Argos	Argolid	Roman	*IG* IV 620; Schol. Theocr. V 83	A, L
3.	Andaina	Arcadia		(See Farnell 1902, 133)	A
4.	Sanctuary near river Karnion	Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia	-	Paus. 8.34.5 (not discovered)	L
5.	Temple at Sicyon	Corinthia	-	Paus 2.11.2, 10.2 (not discovered)	L
6.	Temple on Thera	Cyclades	7th century	-Priests: *IG* 12.3.513, 508, 519 -Temple: *IG* 12.3.512; *GDI* 5009b (not discovered)	A
7.	Rhodes	Dodecanese	n.d.	Priests: *IG* XII 1, 705 l.20. 697	A
8.	Kos	Dodecanese	n.d.	*SIG*^{2} 446	A
9.	Sparta	Laconia	Roman	-Temple near the dromos: Paus. 3.14.6, *IG* V,1 222; -*Xoanon*: Paus. 3.26.5; -Karneios Oiketas: Paus 3.13.3 -Karneios Dromaios: Paus. 3.14.5 -Inscription from Imperial period naming priests to Oiketas and Dromaios: *IG* V,1 497, 589, 608	A, L

Apollo Karneios (continued)					
10.	Gythion	Laconia	Roman	-Building of Apollo Karneios: Paus 3.21.8, *IG* V,1 114 (1st century CE); -Apollo Karneios statue on Roman coins of 1st c CE, behind Pan statue	A, L
11.	Apollo Hyperteleates' Temple at Epidaurus Limera	Laconia	2nd century	*IG* V,1 1090	A
12.	Oitylos	Laconia	-	Paus 3.25.10 (not discovered)	L
13.	Leuktron	Laconia/ Arcadia	-	Paus. 3.26.5 (not discovered)	L
14.	Mt. Knakadion near Las	Laconia	-	Paus. 3.24.8; Polyb. 5.19 (not discovered)	L
15.	Kardamyle	Laconia	-	Paus. 3.26.7 (not discovered)	L
16.	Cyrene	Libya	-	Pind. *Pyth*. V 73f	L
17.	Metapontum	Magna Graecia	400	Coin (*LIMC* "Apollo")	C
18.	Pharai	Messina	-	Grove: Paus 4.31.1 (not discovered)	L
19.	Oikhalia	Messina	92/91	Paus. 4.33.4; *IG* V,1 1390	L
Zeus Ammon					
1.	Pitane	Aeolis	4th century; 2nd century	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
2.	Athens	Attica	4th century	(See Garland 2001, 134; *LIMC* "Ammon")	A
3.	Piraeus	Attica	4th century	(See Garland 2001, 134; *LIMC* "Ammon")	A
4.	Thebes	Boeotia	Mid-4th century	Pind. *Pyth*. 9.51-53	L
5.	Kallithea	Chalcidice	Early 4th century	(see Tsigarida 2011)	A
6.	Aphytis	Chalcidice	4th century	Paus. 3.18. 3; Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	L
7.	Arcadias	Crete	330-280	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
8.	Knossos	Crete	Between 200 and 67	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
9.	Tenos	Cyclades	4th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
10.	Olympia	Elis	408	Effigy (*LIMC* "Ammon")	A
11.	Dodona	Epirus	5th century	Effigy (*LIMC* "Ammon")	A

Zeus Ammon (continued)					
12.	Lesbos	Ionian Islands	440-350	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
13.	Gytheion	Laconia	-	Temple: Paus. 3.21.8 (not discovered)	L
14.	Sparta	Laconia	-	Temple: Paus. 3.18.3 (not discovered)	L
15.	Ammoneion at Cyrene	Libya	520 - 375	Temple; Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon"); Pind. *Pyth*. 4.14-16	A
16.	(numerous)	Libya	-	(See Malkin 1994, 165-6)	A
17.	Metapontum	Magna Graecia	4th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
18.	Delphi	Phokis	4th century	Effigy (LIMC "Ammon")	A
19.	Kyzikus	Phyrgia	450-400	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
20.	Catane	Sicily	212	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
21.	Lysimac	Thrace	323-281		C
22.	Thymbra	Troade	4th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Ammon")	C
BULL					
Acheloos					
1.	Stratos	Acarnania	5th century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
2.	Lycia	Anatolia	470-440	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C
3.	Mantineia	Arcadia	2nd century	*IG* A 104	A
4.	Athens (on Ilissus River)	Attica	4th century	Nymph relief (*LIMC* "Acheloos"); Plato *Phaedr.*, 280; Schol., T, II, XXIV 616	L
5.	Cave at Vari	Attica	4th century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
6.	Sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropos	Attica	-	Paus. 1.34.3	L
7.	Megara	Attica	5th century	Nymph reliefs: (*LIMC* "Acheloos"); Altar: Paus. 3.41.2	L
8.	Chasani	Attica	After 300	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
9.	Aigosthena	Attica		Dedications and inscription (*RE* "Acheloos")	A
10.	Eleusis	Attica	After 300	Nymph relief (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
11.	Eklai	Attica	300	Nymph relief (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
12.	Piraus	Attica	4th century	Nymph relief (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
13.	Parnos Cave	Attica	5th century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
14.	Palaiopolis	Andros	4th century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
15.	Near Thespeia	Boeotia	-	Philostratus the Elder, Imagines 1. 23 (3rd c CE)	L
16.	Rhegion	Bruttium	510	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C

Acheloos (continued)					
17.	(numerous)	Campania	Mid-3rd century	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C
18.	Delos	Cyclades	100	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
19.	Mykonos	Cyclades		(see *RE* "Acheloos")	A
20.	Paphos	Cyprus	5th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C
21.	Rhodes	Dodecanese	unknown	Schol. T to Il. XXIV 616	L
22.	Oechalia	Euboea	5th century	Boundary stone marking shrine and bronze statuette (see Isler 1970, no. 264)	A
23.	At Temple of Zeus Naios at Dodona	Epirus	-	Altar: Macr. Sat. V 18, 8 (Ephoros); Schol. Theocr. XXI 194. XXIV 616; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F20.	L
24.	Halikarnass	Ionia	2nd century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
25.	Phokaia	Ionia	c. 500	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
26.	Cyrene	Libya	Late 5th century	Nymph reliefs (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	A
27.	Metapontum	Magna Grecia		(see *RE* "Acheloos")	C
28.	Cyzicus	Phygia	Mid-5th century and mid-4th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C
29.	(numerous)	Sicily	5th century	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos"); Schol. T to Il. XXIV 616	C, L
30.	Metropolis	Thessaly	300-200	Coins (*LIMC* "Acheloos")	C
SNAKE					
Kekrops					
1.	Shrine on Athenian Acropolis	Attica	Late Archaic and Classical	Shrine and monumental tomb beside Erechtheion (see Gerding 2014)	A
2.	Shrine at Athenian Agora	Attica	4th century	*IG* II 1276; Eur. *Ion* 1.1400	A
3.	Heroon at Haliartos	Boeotia	-	Paus. 9.33.1; Strab. 9, 407 (not discovered)	L

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